O. P. Sent to R.R.L. 9/28/34

REFERENCE LIBRARY OF
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
2 PARK STREET, BOSTON

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THE SHELVES
EXCEPT BY PERMISSION OF
THE LIBRARIAN

REFERENCE LIBRARY * HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO. * BOSTON, MASS.
Archive
Collection

This book may not leave the Offices
and if borrowed must be returned within 7 days

A

COMPENDIOUS HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND

FROM THE

DISCOVERY BY EUROPEANS

TO THE

First General Congress of the Anglo-American Colonies

BY

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. II

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge

Copyright, 1873,
By JOHN GORHAM PALFREY.

Copyright, 1883,
By JOHN CARVER PALFREY.

The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Printed by H. O. Houghton & Company.

CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOOK II.

CONFEDERACY OF THE FOUR COLONIES.

CHAPTER X.

THE QUAKERS AND CONGREGATIONAL REFORM.

	PAGE
Accession of Charles the Second	1
Addresses to the King and to Parliament, from Massachusetts.	2
Complaints against the Colony	3
Origin of the Sect of Quakers. George Fox	4
Alarm in New England	5
The Quakers in Massachusetts	8
Laws against them. Mary Dyer	9
Action of the Federal Commissioners	10
Pertinacity of the Quakers	11
Execution of Four Quakers	12
Conviction of Wenlock Christison	14
Triumph of the Quakers	15
Controversy respecting Baptism	17
Schism in the Church of Hartford	18
The Half-way Covenant	19

CHAPTER XI.

CHARLES THE SECOND AND MASSACHUSETTS.

Arrival of Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe at Boston	22
Pursuit of them to New Haven	23
The Regicides at Hadley	25
Visit of Colonel Dixwell to them	26

PAGE
Eliot's "Christian Commonwealth" 27
Navigation Act 28
Construction of the Charter of Massachusetts 29
Embassy of Bradstreet and Norton to England 31
Their Return with the King's Answer 33
Death of Norton 35
Action of the General Court on the King's Letter 36

CHAPTER XII.

SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND.

Affairs in Plymouth 37
New Haven 38
Connecticut: Winthrop sent to England 39
Charter of Connecticut 40
Political Extinction of New Haven 42
Reception of the Charter of Connecticut 44
Meeting of the Federal Commissioners 46
Contentions about the Charter 47
John Clarke in England 48
Charter of Rhode Island 50
Conflict of Jurisdiction 53

CHAPTER XIII.

ROYAL COMMISSIONERS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Proceedings of the General Court of Massachusetts 56
Arrival of the Commissioners 58
The King's Letter 60
Capture of New Amsterdam 63
Submission of New Haven 65
The Commissioners at Plymouth 67

CHAPTER XIV.

ROYAL COMMISSIONERS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Affairs in Rhode Island 69
The King's Province 70
The Commissioners at Boston 71

PAGE
Death of Governor Endicott..... 72
Bellingham chosen Governor..... 73
The Commissioners and the General Court..... 74
Proceedings of the Commissioners interrupted..... 76
Transactions in the Eastern Settlements..... 77
Departure of the Commissioners..... 78
Ruin of the Confederacy..... 80
Reinvigoration of Massachusetts..... 80
Reconstruction of the Government in Maine..... 81

BOOK III.

FINAL RELATIONS TO THE STUART KINGS.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION AFTER FORTY YEARS.

Population of the Colonies..... 82
Report of the Commissioners..... 83
Ill Influence of Colonization..... 86
Non-conformity in Great Britain..... 91
Reëstablishment of Episcopacy in Scotland..... 92
Act for collecting Customs..... 93
Attempt to renew the Confederacy..... 94
Adoption of the Plan by Three Colonies..... 97
Capture of New York by the Dutch..... 98

CHAPTER II.

TRANSACTIONS OF TEN YEARS.

John Davenport in Boston..... 100
Formation of the Third Church in Boston..... 102
The Half-way Covenant..... 103
The Baptists in Boston..... 104
Presidents Chauncy and Hoar..... 106
Resignation and Death of Hoar..... 108
Extension of the Boundary of Massachusetts..... 108

PAGE

Affairs in Plymouth 109
Rhode Island 110
The Quakers in Rhode Island 112
Western Boundary Line 113
Dispute between Rhode Island and Connecticut 114
Administration of Winthrop 115
The Dutch on Long Island 115
Restitution of New York to England 117
Major Andros's Commission 117
His Visit to Saybrook 118

CHAPTER III.

PHILIP'S WAR.

Earlier Relations to the Natives 122
"Praying Indians" in New England 124
Massasoit 125
Character of Philip 126
His Plot against the English 127
Murder of Sausaman 128
Restlessness of Philip's People 129
Attack on Swanzey 130
Retreat of Philip to Pocasset 131
Treaty with the Narragansetts 132
Defeat of Captain Hutchinson 133
Siege of Brookfield 134
Movements on Connecticut River 137
Colonel Goffe at Hadley 138
Action of the Confederacy 139
Disaster of Bloody Brook 142
Attack on Springfield 143
Bad Faith of the Narragansetts 144
Expedition against them 145
Attack on the Narragansett Fort 147

CHAPTER IV.

PHILIP'S WAR.

Attack on Lancaster 152
Captivity of Mrs. Rowlandson 154

PAGE
Attacks on Eastern Towns 157
Defeat of Captain Pierce 158
Capture of Canonchet 160
Defeat of Captain Wadsworth 161
Operations on the Connecticut 162
Battle of Turner's Falls 163
Doings of the General Court 164
Defeat of the Indians at Hatfield 165
The Indians repulsed at Hadley 166
Conduct of the "Praying Indians" 167
Restraint on the Indian Converts 168

CHAPTER V.

PHILIP'S WAR.

Pursuit of Philip 171
Death of Philip 172
Capture of Annawon 173
The War in Maine 174
Major Waldron's Expedition 176
Treaty with the Indians at Boston 178
Further Hostilities in Maine 179
Treaty at Casco 180
Distresses of the War 181
Treatment of the Conquered 182
Character and Policy of Philip 184
Relief sent from Ireland 188
Death of John Clarke 189
Death of John Winthrop, Jr 190

CHAPTER VI.

RENEWED DISPUTE WITH ENGLAND.

The Council for Foreign Plantations 194
Complaints to the Privy Council 195
Confirmation of the Claims of Mason and Gorges 196
Hostility of the Privy Council 197
Edward Randolph appointed Agent to New England 198
His Reception in Boston 199

PAGE
Randolph in New Hampshire 202
His Visit to Plymouth 203
His Departure for England 204
Proceedings of Massachusetts 205
Mission of Stoughton and Bulkley to England 207
Declaration of the Claim of Massachusetts 208

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUED DISPUTE WITH ENGLAND.

Memorial of the Agents to the Privy Council 210
Action of the Privy Council 211
Proceedings of Massachusetts 215
Petition of the New Hampshire Towns 216
Purchase of Maine by Massachusetts 217
Opinion of the Crown Lawyers 220
Proceedings of the Lords of the Committee 221
Oath of Allegiance taken by the Magistrates 222
Pretensions of Episcopacy 225
Return of the Agents 228

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS IN DANGER.

Bradstreet elected Governor 229
Arrival of Randolph 231
Letter from the King 231
Action of the General Court 232
Proceedings of Randolph 234
His Visit to New Hampshire 235
The King's Letter by John Mason 236
Randolph again in England 237
His Reports to the Secretary of State 238
Procrastination in Massachusetts 239
Return of Randolph to Boston 240
Action of the General Court 241
Instructions to New Agents 241

CHAPTER IX.

HUMILIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

PAGE
The Popular Party in Massachusetts 245
The Moderate Party 246
Joseph Dudley 248
Dudley and Richards in England 249
New Instructions to the Agents 251
Writ of *Quo Warranto* 253
Royal Declaration 254
Firmness of the Deputies 255
Action of the Magistrates 256
Randolph again in England 257
Vacating of the Charter 258
Colonel Kirk appointed Governor-General 260
Arbitrary Measures of Charles the Second 261
Despondency in Massachusetts 262

CHAPTER X.

EASTERN AND SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND.

Affairs in Maine 264
Thomas Danforth appointed President 266
John Cutts President of New Hampshire 267
Organization of the New Government 268
Mason in New Hampshire 269
Cranfield made Governor 271
His Arbitrary Measures 272
Insurrection of Edward Gove 273
Taxes illegally levied by Cranfield 275
Disorders in the Province 276
Cranfield withdraws to the West Indies 276
Affairs in Plymouth 277
Condition of Connecticut 278
Controversy with Rhode Island 278
Holden and Greene in England 279
Meeting of the Federal Commissioners 280
Decision of the King's Commissioners in Favor of Connecticut 282
Address to the King from Connecticut 283

PAGE
Administration of Governor Leete..... 284
Death of Roger Williams..... 285
Death of William Coddington..... 286
End of the Second Confederacy..... 287

CHAPTER XI.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Accession of James the Second..... 288
Charter Elections in Massachusetts..... 289
Abdication of the General Court..... 292
Presidency of Joseph Dudley..... 294
Organization of the Provisional Government..... 296
Complaints of Randolph..... 297
Episcopal Church in Boston..... 301
Affairs in Plymouth..... 304
Transactions in Rhode Island..... 305
Provisional Government in the King's Province..... 307
Proclamation of King James in Connecticut..... 308
Writ of *Quo Warranto* against the Colony..... 309
Meeting of the General Court..... 311
Instructions to the Agent..... 312
Arrival of Andros at Boston..... 313

CHAPTER XII.

FIRST YEAR OF GOVERNOR ANDROS.

Principles of the New Government..... 314
Effects of the Abrogation of the Charter..... 316
Authority and Functions of Andros..... 317
His Reception at Boston..... 319
Organization of the Government..... 320
New System of Taxation..... 321
Intrusion of Episcopacy..... 322
Obstacles to the Administration of Justice..... 324
Arbitrary Taxation..... 325
Resistance to Andros's Despotism in Ipswich..... 326
Demand for Quit-rents..... 328
Oppressive Exactions in Legal Business..... 330

PAGE
Government of Andros in Maine..... 331
West and Palmer in Cornwall..... 332
Affairs in New Hampshire and Plymouth..... 333
Submission of Rhode Island..... 334
The Narragansett Claims..... 335
The Usurpation in Connecticut..... 336
A Surrender of the Charter agitated..... 338
Visit of Andros to Hartford..... 340
Concealment of the Charter..... 341
Last Record of the General Court..... 342

CHAPTER XIII.

ANDROS IN MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE.

Complaint against Charles Morton..... 343
Reception of the King's Declaration of Indulgence..... 344
Legal Consolidation of New England..... 344
Oppressive Legislation..... 346
Writs of Intrusion..... 347
Prosecution of Increase Mather by Randolph..... 351
Mather embarks as Agent to England..... 352
Castine and the Penobscot Indians..... 352
Andros and Randolph at Pemaquid..... 353
Affairs in the County of Cornwall..... 354

CHAPTER XIV.

ENLARGED JURISDICTION OF ANDROS.

The "Territory and Dominion" of New England..... 355
Andros in New York and New Jersey..... 356
Movements of the Indians..... 357
Increase Mather in England..... 358
Andros arrests the Expedition against the Indians..... 360
His own Campaign in Maine..... 361
Imprudence of Andros..... 363
Great News from England..... 365
Reception of the Intelligence by Andros..... 366
Agitation in Massachusetts..... 368

CHAPTER XV.

REVOLUTION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

PAGE
Rising in Boston 370
Declaration of the Patriots 371
Summons to Andros 373
His Surrender 374
Arrest of the other Usurpers 375
Dudley placed under Guard 376
Committee of Public Safety 377
Convention of Delegates 378
Proclamation of William and Mary in Boston 379
Arrival of Sir William Phipps 380
Meeting of the General Court 382
Revolution in Plymouth and Rhode Island 383
The Charter Government resumed in Connecticut 384
Proclamation of William and Mary in Connecticut 385

HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

CONFEDERACY OF THE FOUR COLONIES.

CHAPTER X.

THE QUAKERS AND CONGREGATIONAL REFORM.

No one of the confederate colonies of New England proclaimed either of the Protectors of the British Commonwealth. An order which, at the death of Oliver, the Council of State sent to Massachusetts to proclaim his son, received no attention, even so far as to be mentioned in the public records.

Intelligence of the accession of Charles the Second to the throne of his ancestors was not long in reaching Boston; but the journal of the General Court, which sat three months later, contains no reference to the new position of things John Leverett was now the colony's agent in England, having succeeded Edward Winslow in that capacity. The Court had not been long adjourned, when information came from him that the affairs of New England had been brought to the King's notice; that the Quakers

1660. July 27

1655. Nov. 13

1660. Nov. 30

and some of the eastern people had approached the throne with complaints; and that a petition had been presented for the subjection of New England to a General Governor.

The Magistrates immediately convoked an extraordinary General Court, which "ordered that Addresses be made to the King's most excel-
Dec. 19. lent Majesty, as also to the High Court of Parliament." The Address to the King prayed him to respect the privileges conveyed by his father's charter. The Address to Parliament expressed confidence in the "favor and encouragement" of that assembly. These papers, transmitted to Leverett, "or, in his absence, Richard Saltonstall and Henry Ashurst, Esqs.," were accompanied by instructions relating to their presentation and to further proceedings. The agents were directed to engage the favor of "gentlemen of worth in Parliament, or that were near unto his Majesty;" to inform themselves respecting the state of feeling of King and Parliament towards the memorialists; to maintain the privileges secured by the charter, including freedom from appeals to England; and to protest against any demands of the Quakers for indulgence. If called upon to make any public answer, the agents were to reply that they had not received authority to do so.

There was much occasion for anxiety, and great need of circumspection. Through thirty years, from the beginning of their settlement, the freemen of Massachusetts had managed their own affairs. Fo

twenty years they had pursued their plans with little apprehension of interference. The restoration of the royal authority revived painful remembrances, and gave birth to serious alarms. Their charter, as long as it should stand good in English law, they reckoned to be a sufficient shield. They had some good friends at court. The Parliament which was in session contained a strong force of men who would not willingly see them wronged. And, in the last resort, the constancy and conduct which, when their numbers were smaller, had stood them in good stead, were now a not less secure dependence. But, on the other hand, the enthusiasm which brought back the King had invested him with much power for mischief, should he prove to be malignantly disposed; and that Puritan organization in England to which in former dangers they had looked for serviceable sympathy, was disabled. The most compact and solid array of Puritanism now existing was in New England itself. In these circumstances a gloomy uncertainty rested over the future; and a sense of responsibility, somewhat new after the comparative calm of a score of years, braced the minds of the pilots of the State.

The complaint presented to the King from the eastern settlements was made by that part of the inhabitants who were opposed to the occupation of Maine and Lygonia by Massachusetts, and by persons interested with them. The application of the Quakers related to severities, which, through some six or seven years preceding, had been prac-

tised on that sect in the confederate colonies, and especially in Massachusetts.

The people known among themselves by the name of *Friends*, but commonly called *Quakers*, possess at present, in an eminent degree, the respect of mankind. Collectively they present an example of some moral qualities of the highest order, and there are names in their annals which occur to the mind whenever the heroism of philanthropic enterprise is the theme. But the attractive part of their history begins with its second stage, in the time of William Penn and Robert Barclay. Seldom have enthusiasts been more coarse, more unfriendly, more wild and annoying, than the early Friends. The gratification of fantastic caprices, and of an aimless, absolute, and offensive self-will, seemed to be the governing impulse of their action.

The sect appeared in that agitated period of the English Commonwealth which gave birth to manifold eccentricities of speculation and of conduct. George Fox is reputed to have been its founder, though John Reeves and Ludovick Muggleton had obtained some notoriety by preaching a doctrine similar to his, at a little earlier time. Fox took abundant pains to insult and exasperate everybody, not his disciple, that came in his way; and his tongue being against every man, it naturally followed, as it might have done even in less agitated times, that every man's hand was against his. When he was twenty-eight years old, and when six years had passed since the time of his under

standing himself to have received his first revelations, no fewer than twenty-five preachers acknowledged him for their apostle; and in two years more, the number was increased to sixty. They rebuked the rabble and the courts; and the mobs beat them, and the courts put them in gaol. The marvellous absurdity of their behavior provoked now compassion, and now disgust. One of them undertook to fast twenty days, and died of hunger on the tenth; another, as personating the Saviour, rode into Bristol with a shouting retinue, his horse led by a woman, and others spreading scarfs and handkerchiefs in his way. Conduct so unaccountable was not unnaturally accounted for, in the popular mind, by explanations as unreasonable as itself, one of which was that they were Franciscan friars in disguise, emissaries of the Pope to discredit and overset the Protestantism of England.

Endicott was Governor of Massachusetts when the Quakers entered, in the parent country, on that course of operations, by books and missionaries, which was soon to carry the proclamation of their eccentric faith to the northern, eastern, and western regions of continental Europe, to the Vatican palace, to the camp of the Grand Seignior, and to the islands of the sea. It seemed to the Governor and his fellow-Magistrates that if Quaker preachers were really Popish emissaries, no sphere should be allowed tc them for machinations in New England. If not so, but if, as was quite generally un-

derstood, they were publishers of irreligious fancies, declaimers against everything established, "evil-speakers against dignities" of every sort, provokers of tumult and violence wherever they came, then whoever had a right to refuse their companionship would do well to make his door fast against them.

To the rulers of Massachusetts imagination represented the fabric of their institutions demolished, and all their long and arduous work undone. The memory of their Antinomian troubles had not perished, and they intensely dreaded the renewal of such a strife. The disturbed condition of things in the parent country warned them to be watchful. If the iron hand of Cromwell could scarcely restrain hot-headed men from intolerable irregularities, how was restraint to be imposed where the bands of authority were as yet so loosely knit as in these infant colonies? They overrated the danger; for they did not know, — what later experience has shown, — that, at any one time, there is but little fuel in the world for such excitement, because the class of minds susceptible of it is small. Estimating it as they erroneously did, in an evil hour they resolved to keep this dangerous people out of Massachusetts. All the more stiffly did this vigorous people resolve that into Massachusetts they would come, and that there they would abide till it should suit them to depart.

The local government proceeded on the familiar conviction that their territory was strictly their

own homestead, and as such was invested with all the rights of security and privacy that a private proprietor enjoys. They had repeatedly asserted their right to its exclusive occupation, by warning away and dismissing persons whose society they did not relish; and their decree of banishment had always been effectual. That they should pass such a decree, and that it should be disobeyed, was an improbability that could scarcely enter into their calculations.

In respect to this passage of her history, Massachusetts was unfortunate in the temper of the three men who had now the most important agency in her administration. The Governor and Deputy-Governor at this time were Endicott and Bellingham, each a person of vehement character in his own way. To them and to John Norton the Quakers — correctly, as it seems — ascribed the chief influence in determining the course of measures which was now begun. After Cotton's death, Norton must be regarded as the leading minister of the colony. His commanding abilities and his melancholy temperament both had their influence on the events which followed.

The General Court appointed "a public day of humiliation," of which the purpose first named was "to seek the face of God in behalf of our native country, in reference to the abounding of errors, especially those of the Ranters and Quakers." But the dreaded mischief was al- 1656. May 14.

ready nearer than in the parent country. Scarcely was the fast-day over, when a vessel from
July. Barbadoes brought into Boston harbor two Quaker women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. They were disposed of with little difficulty. The master of the vessel was put under bonds to recon-
July 11. vey them to Barbadoes, and they were kept in gaol till their departure.

They had but just left Boston, when another vessel brought from London eight other per-
Aug. 5. sons of the same persuasion, four men and as many women, besides a man who had joined the party on Long Island, and been converted on his passage thence. One of them, Mary Prince,
Sept. 8. taken to the Governor's house for a conference with two ministers, told them they were "hirelings, Baals, and seeds of the serpent."
Oct. 21. After eleven weeks' imprisonment, this party also were reëmbarked and sent away. By correspondence from his home on Narragansett Bay, Samuel Gorton had made an arrangement to take them out of the vessel, and set them on shore again in New England. But the Magistrates had information or suspicion of what was going on, and put a stop to it by taking bonds of the ship-master.

While this second party lay in prison, the Fed eral Commissioners held one of their annual
Sept 17. meetings. They passed a vote recommending "to the several General Courts that all Quakers

Ranters, and other notorious heretics . . . . . should be forthwith secured, or removed out of all the jurisdictions." Each of the colonies made laws conforming to this advice. The laws passed in Massachusetts were the most detailed and the most severe. Quakers coming into the colony were to "be forthwith committed to the house of correction, and at their entrance to be severely whipped, and by the master thereof to be kept constantly to work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them during the time of their imprisonment." A fine of five pounds was incurred by the importation, circulation, or concealment of their books; and for a third offence in the way of defending their opinions, the transgressor was to be imprisoned till there should "be convenient passage for him to be sent out of the land."

The admonition designed by the new laws was before long to be practically enforced. Anne Burden and Mary Dyer came to Boston from England. The latter was wife of John Dyer, Secretary and Naval Officer of Rhode Island. Both the women were imprisoned. Burden, after two or three months, was sent back to England. Dyer, pleading ignorance of the law, was delivered to her husband, to be conducted home. But Christopher Holden and John Copeland, who had been reshipped to England in the preceding autumn, and had now found their way back, and Mary Clarke and Richard Dowdney, who had now crossed the

1657.

ocean for the first time, "to warn the persecutors," were imprisoned and scourged, and the last three were sent away together. They all belonged to a party of fifteen, who had come from London to New Amsterdam.

July.

The contest grew more angry, and heavier penalties were imposed. The fine for harboring Quakers was now increased to the amount of forty shillings for every hour; and it was ordered that every Quaker, coming into the jurisdiction after being once punished, should, for the first offence, suffer the loss of one ear; for a second offence, the loss of the other; and for a third, should have the tongue "bored through with a hot iron." Of the three last-mentioned provisions, the last two were never executed.

Oct. 14.

The Federal Commissioners thought that the state of things called for yet sterner measures of prevention. They advised the General Courts to make it a capital offence for a Quaker to return into any colony after being banished from it. The General Court of Massachusetts accepted the advice, and passed a law of this precise tenor. Its principle was no novelty in the legislation of Massachusetts. Over and over again, through nearly thirty years, delinquents had been threatened with death if they should return from banishment; and the threat had never once failed of its desired effect. And there can be no doubt whatever, that, among those who

1658. Sept. 22–3.

Oct.

voted for the law now in question, there was a confident expectation that the terror of it would accomplish all that was desired, and would prevent any occasion for its execution. After all, it was warmly contested, chiefly in the House of Deputies. It was not till after long debate, and repeated conferences with the Magistrates, that a bare majority of one vote was obtained for it in that body, which this year consisted of thirty-four members. The Court was not insensible to the responsibility of the step that had been taken, nor to the strong pressure of public sentiment in an opposite direction; and it ordered that a "declaration," setting forth the urgency of the reasons for its proceeding, should be composed by Mr. Norton, and circulated in print throughout the colony.

For a little time there seemed reason to hope that the law would do its office without harm to any one. The first six Quakers who were banished after its enactment went away and returned no more. 1658. May. But William Robinson heard of it in Rhode Island, and Marmaduke Stevenson in Barbadoes; and they judged themselves to be commissioned to put it to the proof. They came to Boston, and were joined there by Mary Dyer, from Newport, and Nicholas Davis, from Barnstable. The four were arraigned, and received sentence of banishment, with the addition that they would suffer death if they came back. Sept. 12.

"Nicholas Davis and Mary Dyer found freedom

to depart; . . . . . but the other two were constrained in the love and power of the Lord not to depart, but to stay in the jurisdiction, and to try the bloody law with death." After four or five weeks they returned to Boston, and were again joined there by Dyer, who had again reconsidered her duty. Brought to trial under the recent statute, they were all three sentenced to be hanged on the eighth day following. Precautions were taken against a popular outbreak, for there was a general disgust at what was going on. A hundred pikemen and musketeers were detailed to guard the convicts to execution. A strong night-watch was set, and sentries were posted in and around the town.

Oct. 13.

Oct. 18.

At this point, without doubt, if not before, the government should have paused and retraced its steps. It would have had to acknowledge itself beaten; but this it could afford to do, and this it was obliged to do at last. Perhaps each party had continued to hope that the other would relent when the terrible gallows should be reared. But so it was not to be. The contest of will was to last longer. Whatever the rulers of Massachusetts in those days promised or threatened, that it was their practice to do. On the other hand, if they presumed that their antagonists were susceptible of fear, the supposition was a mistake. On the appointed day, the prisoners, surrounded by the guard went from the gaol in Queen (Court) Street to Bos

ton Common, hand in hand, Mary Dyer walking between the other two. The men were hanged, and their bodies were buried beneath the gallows. Dyer, who had stood during the execution with a halter about her neck, was now told that she was dismissed to the care of her son, who had come from Rhode Island to intercede for her. Her courage had not yet reached the height to which it aspired. She accepted the deliverance, and was led out of the jurisdiction.

The undaunted deportment of the sufferers increased the wide-spread resentment against the law which had condemned them; and the Court found it necessary to justify itself in two other "declarations," sent abroad, the one in print, the other in a circular letter from the Secretary to the towns. Dyer was not satisfied with herself; and in the following spring, after some aimless wanderings, she again came to Boston, and was again brought to trial, and doomed to die. At the gallows once more the offer was renewed to her of release, if she would promise thenceforward to keep out of Massachusetts. But she rejected it, and met her fate with brave determination. "In obedience to the will of the Lord I came," she said; "and in His will I abide faithful to the death." 1660. June 1.

With an inconsistency which shows the repugnance felt by the Magistrates to executing the hard law, it was left inoperative in some cases of mani-

fest violation. But it had one more victim. William Leddra returned from banishment, and was apprehended and brought to trial. An offer of liberation was made to him, if he would engage to go to England; but he rejected it, saying that he had no business there. He was condemned and executed. "All that will be Christ's disciples," he said at the foot of the ladder "must take up the cross." The last words he was heard to utter, were those of the martyr Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Nov. 1661. March 14.

During Leddra's trial, Wenlock Christison, who had been banished, and threatened with death if he should return, came into court, and confronted the judges with bold language. After three months he was brought up for trial. The tide had now turned. There was an unprecedented division among the Magistrates, and they are said to have consumed no less than two weeks in debate. The sturdy Governor was so vexed at what he thought their want of spirit, that he said he was half-minded to go back to England. Christison was condemned to die; but the dreadful sentence could not, a fifth time, be executed. In the mean time the General Court had met, and the evidences of opposition to any further pursuance of this rigorous policy were unmistakable. The contest of will was at an end. The trial that was to decide which party would hold out longest had been made, and the Quakers had conquered. The Court, it is true

May 22.

was not ready for such an express contradiction of some of the leading men, and such a formal concession of victory to the Quakers, as would have been afforded by a repeal of the law for capital punishment. But it made other enactments, which, in the existing state of feeling, would practically supersede the execution of that law.

While the vehemence on one side was thus shown to have cooled, on the other it appeared to have not yet mounted to its highest point of fervor. Whether as a consequence or not, after the discontinuance of capital punishment, the antics of the Quakers became for a while more absurd than before. Far and near, they disturbed the congregations at their worship. George Wilson at Boston, and Elizabeth Horton at Cambridge, cried through the streets that the Lord was coming with fire and sword. Thomas Newhouse, having delivered to the congregation in the Boston church a message with which he alleged himself to be charged, broke two glass bottles "in a prophetic manner," proclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." One wretched woman, Mary Brewster, made herself a spectacle by walking about wrapped in sackcloth; and another displayed her face smeared with grease and lamp-black. "Deborah Wilson . . . . . was constrained, being a young woman of very modest and retired life, and of sober conversation, as were her parents, to go through the town of Salem naked, as a sign." "Lydia [Wardel], being

a young and tender, chaste woman, ... as a sign to them [the church at Newbury], went in (though it was exceeding hard to her modest and shamefaced disposition) naked amongst them."

The number of Quakers who were fined, imprisoned, or scourged, under sentences from the General Court of Massachusetts, was about thirty. The number of those punished in like manner by sentences of the County Courts is not ascertained. Some similar proceedings took place in New Haven and Plymouth, — especially in Plymouth, which, as being nearest to Rhode Island, the Quakers most frequented of all the confederate colonies, after Massachusetts. In England, at the same time, thousands of Quakers were treated in the same way; and the return of members of this sect from banishment continued to be a felony in Virginia years after it ceased to be a felony in Massachusetts. But it is the unhappy distinction of Massachusetts to have taken the lives of four unfriendly persons who would not quit her territory. It is hard to say what should have been done with disturbers so virulent and wayward. But that they should not have been put to death is certain. Sooner than put them to death, it were devoutly to be wished that the annoyed dwellers in Massachusetts had opened their hospitable drawing-rooms to dirty, naked women, and suffered their ministers to ascend the pulpits every Sunday by steps paved with fragments of glass bottles.

The conflict between the Quakers and the people of New England, so early brought to the notice of King Charles the Second, had begun four years before the restoration of the monarchy, though the execution of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, did not take place till the year next after that event, and the less severe proceedings did not cease for a much longer time.

While this quarrel with the Quakers was going on, a question respecting the rite of baptism, different from the questions which were raised by the sectaries, had occasioned within the Congregational church itself a contention which was carried on with great warmth for twelve years, and has not ceased even at the present day. According to the original scheme of that church, the proper subjects of baptism were: 1. Such believers, hitherto unbaptized, as desired admission into the church and to the Lord's Supper; and 2. The infant children of church-members in full standing; that is, of communicants. In the lapse of years, numbers who had been baptized in infancy, but who were not ready for the tests of admission into the church, had become heads of families. What was their ecclesiastical position? Were they, through their baptism, in any sense members of the church? If so, were they not entitled to have their children baptized? Or, if not so entitled already, might they not become so by expressly assuming the engagements which at baptism had been made for them by their parents? These questions naturally

led to others. Were not the terms of admission to the Lord's Supper, and to full membership in the church, too strict? Ought a relation of personal religious experience to be rigidly insisted on, as a condition? Had not all baptized persons of regular life a right to be received to the communion-table? Some went even further than this, and asked, whether all members of a congregation, who contributed to its support, had not a right to act, in the election of its officers, with those members of the church to whom hitherto that prerogative had exclusively belonged.

The question first assumed form and practical importance in the church of Hartford. The Reverend Mr. Stone did some act in relation to baptism or to the communion, which, by leading members of his congregation, was considered to be irregular. Council after council was convened; ministers and messengers came so far as from Massachusetts; but all such measures failed. The General Court of Connecticut appointed a committee of four leading men to have a formal conference with the ministers of the Colony, and, with their assistance, to prepare such a statement of the matters in debate as should be a basis for consultation with the several members of the Confederacy. It was drawn up and circulated accordingly, being digested in twenty one questions. The General Court of Massachusetts advised that it should be submitted at Boston to a Synod of divines from the sev

1654, 1655.

1656. May.

Oct. 14.

eral Colonies, and appointed a delegation of fifteen distinguished ministers. Connecticut accepted the proposal, and nominated on her part four ministers, of whom Mr. Stone was one. 1657. Feb. 26. Plymouth took no action in the matter. New Haven, attached to the old system, and fearful of the consequences of the present movement, refused to have a part in it, and sent a letter of warning, and a full answer to the questions, Feb. 25. both prepared by Mr. Davenport.

The Synod came together, and sat two or three weeks. Its *Result* favored some of the less exclusive views which had been lately gaining ground. June 4. In particular, as to the case of such baptized persons as, without being prepared to come to the Lord's Supper, were of blameless character, and would own for themselves their baptismal obligations, it decided that they ought to be allowed to present their children for baptism. This assuming of baptismal obligations was called by opponents, taking the *Half-way Covenant.*

The decision of the Synod had no legal efficacy; and the dispute was embittered rather than assuaged. A majority of the church of Hartford approved the decision, and many of its members, who were of a different mind, moved away, the Governor being one of them. The current of opinion, in both Massachusetts and Connecticut, was with the Synod; but in both of those colonies, as well as in New Haven, which was more united and resolute, there was strong opposition in high

quarters. Political regards brought their explosive fuel to the flame. "From the fire of the altar," writes Cotton Mather, "there issued thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquakes." Massachusetts convoked a colonial Synod, which pro-

1662. Sept.

nounced the same opinion as had been expressed by the score of Massachusetts and Connecticut divines five years before. This *Result* was presented to the General Court, which ordered it to be printed, with a preface, for "the con-

Oct. 8.

sideration of all the churches and people;" and here all legislative action of Massachusetts on the matter ceased. The more liberal practice as to baptism, which the Synod had approved,

1664. Oct. 13.

was recommended by the General Court of Connecticut to the churches; but a majority of them still resisted the innovation.

From the period of which some events are related in this chapter, the severity exercised against sectarian disturbers declines. In thirty-five years, Massachusetts had grown sufficiently powerful and confident to dismiss or to relax some of the securities which in her early feebleness had been thought essential. "Since," wrote Cotton Mather, "our Jerusalem was come to such a consistence that the going up of every fox would not break down our stone walls, who ever meddled with 'em?"

CHAPTER XI.

CHARLES THE SECOND AND MASSACHUSETTS.

The Address of the General Court of Massachusetts to the King, though tardy, was favorably received. The strength of the Confederacy, of which that colony was the head, was perhaps overrated at court; and it was probably thought prudent to abstain from a quarrel with so important a branch of the Puritan combination, till affairs should be more settled, and better information should be obtained. The King, through Secretary Morrice, informed Endicott that he should not "come behind any of his royal predecessors in a just encouragement and protection of all his loving subjects" in New England, and should make them "equal partakers of those promises of liberty and moderation to tender consciences, expressed in his gracious declarations." 1661. Feb. 15.

Such language tended to relieve present anxiety, and to facilitate the quiet reception of another document, which was perhaps transmitted by the same ship, though it bore a little earlier date. This was an order for the apprehension of the fugitive regicides, Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, whom one Captain Breedon, then in Jan. 23

London, reported that he had seen at Boston in the preceding summer.

Edward Whalley, a cousin of the Protector Oliver and of John Hampden, and an officer distinguished in many battles of the Great Civil War was a member of the High Court of Justice at the trial of King Charles the First, and set his name to the death-warrant. He was employed by Cromwell in Scotland; was one of the Major-Generals among whom the Protector parcelled out the local administration of England; and sat, successively, in both Houses of the Parliaments of the Commonwealth.

William Goffe, who married Whalley's daughter, was, like his father-in-law, a distinguished officer, a member of the High Court of Justice, a signer of the King's death-warrant, a member first of one, then of the other House of Parliament, and a Major-General in charge of a group of counties.

To escape what they apprehended might prove the fate of regicides, Whalley and Goffe left England immediately on the return of King Charles the Second, coming to Boston in the vessel which brought the news of that event. Having been welcomed by the Governor, they proceeded to Cambridge, which place for the present they made their home, appearing frequently in the neighborhood, and received everywhere with respect.

1660. July 27.

Six or seven months passed, when intelligence came that *the Colonels*, as they were called, were

among those marked by the King's advisers for vengeance. Some members of the General Court assured them of protection, while others thought it better that they should seek safety elsewhere The Magistrates refused to advise the Governor to secure them; and when they were ready, they went to New Haven, where they were received into the house of Mr. Davenport. 1661. Feb. 26.

They were presently followed by tidings of the reception at Boston of a proclamation issued by the King for their arrest. Out of regard to their host's safety, they went to Milford, and showed themselves, as if on their way to New Netherland, but returned the same night to Mr. Davenport's house. There they had been concealed for a month, when their friends had information from Boston that the search was to be undertaken in earnest. Endicott, who had received a peremptory order to that effect, could do no less than appear to interest himself to execute it. Two young men, named Kellond and Kirk, had recently come from England. They were known to be zealous royalists, but they were not likely to prove skilful detectives. Endicott commissioned them to look for the fugitives in Massachusetts, and fitted them out with letters to the other New England Governors. March 7. March 27

So qualified, they went to Hartford in pursuit. Thence, on information received from Winthrop, they proceeded towards New Haven, stopping, however, at Guilford, to confer with May 19.

Deputy-Governor Leete, the chief magistrate of the colony. Leete said he could do nothing for them, without consulting with the other Magistrates; and this he could not immediately do, for it was now Saturday afternoon, and to set out, so near to the Sabbath, on a journey to the capital town, was out of the question.

Monday, at dawn, the messengers started for New Haven, after there had been some unnecessary delay, as they thought, in getting their horses ready. Early as it was, an Indian on horseback, no messenger of theirs, had taken the road before them. Leete followed them after two hours, and convoked the Magistrates. The Magistrates, after being "together five or six hours in consultation," said they could not presume to give Kirk and Kellond the warrant they wanted, unless by the authority of a General Court of the freemen. The messengers told Leete what would become of those who concealed or abetted traitors, and asked him whether he meant to "honor and obey the King or no in this affair." "We honor his Majesty," the Deputy-Governor replied, "but we have tender consciences." Finding little encouragement to wait for "a General Court of the freemen," and probably misled by false information, the messengers proceeded the next day towards New Netherland. The Governor there could tell them nothing; and they returned by sea to Boston, to report their ill success.

Before their departure from that place on thei

abortive quest, the fugitives had had notice of what was going on, and had removed from Mr. Davenport's to another house in New Haven. When it was known that the pursuers had got as far as Guilford, and were busy in their negotiation about a warrant, Whalley and Goffe were conducted to a mill two miles from New Haven, where they remained hidden two days and nights. At Hatchet's Harbor, three miles further off, they lay two nights more. A safer hiding-place had now been provided in a sort of cave, on the east side of West Rock, two or three miles nearer to the town. There they remained three months, with the interval of a week or two, during which they showed themselves abroad for the purpose of protecting Mr. Davenport from a charge of harboring them. Towards the end of summer, they were received by a family in or near Milford, with whom they lived in complete secrecy for two years; after which time they allowed themselves more freedom, and even conducted the devotions of a few neighbors assembled in their chamber. May 15–Aug. 19.

But the arrival at Boston of commissioners from the King with extraordinary powers was now expected, and a new danger arose. The troubles in the church of Hartford, related in the last chapter, had led to an emigration from that town and Wethersfield, to a new plantation, high up the river, which took the name of *Hadley*. May 22.

Mr. Russell, hitherto of Wethersfield, was the min-

ister. In this remotest northwestern frontier of New England, a refuge was prepared for the hunted men. At the end of a journey made by night, they were received into the house of Mr. Russell, where, except for a remarkable momentary appearance of one of them, to be hereafter related, and except for the visits of a few confidential friends, they remained lost to the view of men. Whalley lived ten years longer. At the end of the last century, human remains, believed to be his, were disinterred in the cellar of Mr. Russell's house. Goffe survived him nearly five years, at least; how much longer is not known.

1664. Oct. 13.

Three or four months after the regicide officers came to Hadley, they were visited by a former comrade, Colonel Dixwell, also a member of the High Court of Justice, and a signer of the death-warrant of the King. He remained for some years in their neighborhood, and then removed to New Haven, where, bearing the name of James Davids, but affecting no particular privacy, he lived to old age, having meanwhile married twice. The home government never traced him to America. He had vanished from its view in Germany.

1665. Feb. 10.

The King's favorable answer to the Address of the General Court of Massachusetts indicated sentiments on his part which it was prudent to make the most of. By the same vessel which brought it, or a little earlier, came intelligence which appears to have suggested the idea of a cheap dis-

play of loyalty. Thomas Venner, who had formerly been a cooper in Salem, had got back thence to London, and raised a riot there at the head of some sixty persons, who called themselves *Fifth Monarchy Men.* The feeble insurrection was easily put down, and the leader and nine of his friends were convicted and hanged. Some ten years before this time, the apostle John Eliot, following out his plan for the government of the Indians, had written a treatise which he entitled "The Christian Commonwealth, or the Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ." The treatise recommended the "Scripture platform of government," as "well suiting the present condition of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any other religious people." The work remained in manuscript till about the time of Cromwell's death, when it was published in London by "a Sower of the Season." In the two years that had passed since its publication, it does not appear to have received any attention. The Magistrates now took notice of it, and found it to be "full of seditious principles and notions." It is probable that whatever interest had ever been felt in it had now passed away; Eliot's translation of the New Testament into the Indian language was about to appear, with a dedication to the King; and the Society for Propagating the Gospel had become dependent on the royal pleasure. The apostle made no difficulty about acknowledging his error; and the Court ordered that

1661. Jan.

March 18.

May 24

his recantation should be recorded, and that the book should be "totally suppressed."

A Navigation Act had been passed in the time of Cromwell, who, however, did not demand its enforcement within the colonies of New England. The policy of that act was further pursued, in the year of the Restoration, by a law which prohibited the exportation of various colonial productions to any other than English ports, and which required the colonists to receive imported merchandise in English vessels only, manned with English crews. The General Court of Massachusetts, reasonably apprehending that the commercial interest of England would be watchful for any irregularities in trade, concluded to repeal certain laws which had hitherto made their harbors free to the shipping of all countries, and to authorize the Governor to require from ship-masters the bonds and returns prescribed by the new Navigation Act, "that so this country might not be under the least neglect of their duty to his Majesty's just commands." The charter of the Governor and Company contemplated the annual choice of eighteen Assistants. A colonial law of long standing limited the number to fourteen. The deviation might occasion censure, and that law was now repealed. The practice, however, continued to be the same.

1651. Oct. 9.

1660.

1661. Aug. 7

An earlier session closed with a vote which may be taken for the result of deliberations that must have occupied it from first to last. Four Magistrates

four Deputies, and four ministers were appointed a committee to consider, during the recess, "the present condition of affairs," and report to the next General Court "the result of their apprehensions," "that so," say the Court, "we may speak and act the same thing, becoming prudent, honest, conscientious, and faithful men."

The report was presented and approved at a special session, held after an interval of only a few days. It was probably from the pen of Thomas Danforth, who had now become one of the most important men of the colony. It maintained that the charter of King Charles the First had created a "body politic," with power to perpetuate itself by the admission of freemen; that the freemen had power to choose their legislators, and other officers and rulers; that the rulers thus constituted were competent to make, administer, and execute laws, "without appeal, excepting laws repugnant to the laws of England," and to take measures of defence against all disturbers; and that "any imposition, prejudicial to the country, contrary to any just laws of theirs, not repugnant to the laws of England, was an infringement of their right." The "duties of allegiance" it declared to consist in maintaining that the colony "belonged" to the King of England, and refusing to yield it to any foreign prince; in "endeavoring the preservation of his Majesty's royal person, realms, and dominions;" and in faithfully governing the people of the colony.

June 10.

Such being the obligations of allegiance as authoritatively interpreted, there could be no great scruple about avowing them; and so, fifteen months after the accession of King Charles the Second, he was proclaimed in Boston. The language of the proclamation was studied and cautious, and the celebration was lugubrious. The people were charged beforehand to be quiet and orderly in the extreme, and, "in particular," not to "presume to drink his Majesty's health, which he had in special forbid," — a constructive prohibition of his which had been expressed no otherwise than in a colonial law. The order to proclaim the King was issued by the Council of Foreign Plantations, which, eight months after the Restoration, had been constituted, with the same powers as had belonged to the Parliamentary Commission.

1661. Aug. 7.

April 1.

1660. Dec. 1.

The complaints of the Quakers had reached the ear of the King, and he allowed a letter to be written to Endicott and the other New England Magistrates, directing that pending processes against Quakers should be arrested, and that the persons in custody should be sent to England for trial. The letter was brought to Boston by Samuel Shattuck, a Quaker who had been banished from Salem with the usual threat of being put to death should he return. Endicott having read it, and consulted with the Deputy-Governor, said, "We shall obey his Majesty's command." The command, however, produced little

1661. Sept. 9.

Nov.

effect. The resolution to abstain from further capital punishments had been taken some months before. The General Court, "that they might not in the least offend his Majesty," Nov. 27. suspended "corporal punishment" of Quakers, "until the Court took further order." But the Court took further order, and revived those laws within a year. And no Quaker prisoners were sent to England for trial. It would have been a violation of one of the most cherished local principles. 1662. Oct. 8.

A proposal to "send a person or persons with an Address to his Majesty" occasioned much difference of opinion. The Court, called together for a second consideration of it, resolved to send Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, and raised a committee to prepare instructions for them, "that so," said the Court, "the means used for our safety may not be improved against us for our ruin." The Governor and Deputy-Governor were members of the committee, but disliked the measure, and would never attend the meetings. Norton and Bradstreet were indisposed to undertake the business. They knew that they should incur much displeasure, if, as was highly probable, they failed in accomplishing all that was desired. They might be detained in England as hostages for the good behavior of their constituents. They might be called to account for personal delinquencies; for Bradstreet, as an Assistant from the beginning, was responsible for whatever had been objection- 1661. Dec. 31.

able in the local government, and Norton, as much as any man, had been forward in the proceedings against the Quakers. Further, if a disturbance of the colonial order should result, the agents might be without indemnity for expenses and losses.

At length, the agents elect appeared to be convinced or persuaded. They received their commission and a letter of instructions, unwillingly signed by the Governor in the name of the General Court; letters commending their suit to the favor of Lord Clarendon, Lord Manchester, Lord Say and Sele, and other distinguished persons, were placed in their hands; and a vessel, all ready to sail, was detained to convey them. Still they hesitated; and before they could be prevailed upon to proceed, "the Lord was pleased to visit the Reverend Mr. Norton with a violent fit of sickness, and much cold." Here was a fatal discouragement; and the committee authorized the vessel to proceed on her voyage, with only some letters to their friends making known the pains which had been taken in vain. So things stood, when, "on the second day, early in the morning, the Lord so encouraged and strengthened the heart of the Reverend Mr. Norton, that he expressed himself willing and resolved to go that day." With all haste, the arrangements were renewed, and the anxious messengers departed.

1662. Jan. 23, 24. Feb. 2. Feb. 7. Feb. 11.

It occasions surprise to observe that a time so critical for the colony should have been chosen for

the repetition of an act suitable to give high offence in England. Yet so it was, that, after the agents had sailed, and before tidings from them could have been received, the General Court passed an order for a new coinage, consisting of "twopenny pieces of silver." These pieces continued to be struck for a long time, like the coins authorized ten years before, and, like them, were all stamped with the date of the year when they were first made. May 7.

Reports were soon brought to Boston that the agents were imprisoned, and that Norton was in the Tower. But nothing of the kind took place. The Quakers attempted to annoy them, but with little success. Lord Say and Sele and other Puritans of consideration took pains to befriend them; and Lord Clarendon was not disposed for a trial of strength with Massachusetts till he should have informed himself further respecting her spirit and her resources, and should see a better assured settlement of affairs at home. The agents returned with a gracious answer from the King. He told the people of Massachusetts that he "confirmed the patent and charter heretofore granted to them," and was "ready to renew the same," if they desired. Sept. 8. June 28.

This was well, had it been all. But the King's missive had other contents, of a different tenor. He announced his expectation that the administration of justice in Massachusetts should thenceforward be in his name; that "laws and ordinances

. . . . . contrary or derogative to his authority and government" should be "annulled and repealed;" that worship according to the ritual of the Church of England should be freely allowed; and that "persons of good and honest lives and conversations should be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Book of Common Prayer, and their children to baptism." And he ordered that all persons of suitable character should be eligible to office, without "reference to their opinion or profession;" and that the franchise should be extended to all "freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversations, orthodox in religion, though of different persuasion concerning church government." He added, however, that he did not "direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers."

The message was received with consternation and distress. "There were many who would not stick to say that Mr. Norton had laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties." Bradstreet, because of his inferior reputation for ability, was less an object of censure, and his phlegmatic nature now stood him in stead. Norton drooped under the loss of the favor which hitherto had so singularly followed him. He withdrew to solitude, and there moped and pined. "It was commonly judged that the smothered griefs of his mind, upon the unkind resentments which he thought many people had of his faithful and sincere endeavors to serve

them, did more than a little hasten his end." He lived only seven or eight months after his return. The Quakers set it down for a divine judgment, when, after attending public worship on a Sunday, he fell in a fit, and died at evening. 1663. April 5.

The General Court resorted to that policy of delay which in other times had so favored their plans. They directed that writs and other processes should be issued in the King's name. As to the rest, they only ordered that "forasmuch as the King's letter had influence upon the churches as well as the civil state, all manner of actings in relation thereunto should be suspended until the next General Court, that so all persons concerned might have time and opportunity to consider what was necessary to be done in order to his Majesty's pleasure therein." And they provided for a suitable toning of the public mind by appointing a day of thanksgiving for "the safe and speedy return of the public messengers sent for England," and a day of fasting and humiliation "on account of the afflictive and low estate of the cause and people of God universally, with the prevailing power of Antichrist over the reformed churches beyond the seas, together with some public rebukes of God among ourselves." 1662. Oct. 8.

Other measures of the session indicate the stern temper that prevailed. The law for scourging "vagabond Quakers" was reënacted. A censorship of the press was for the first time established. Captain Breedon, who had returned from England,

was charged with some "insolences and contempt against the Court in the face of the country, tending to mutiny and sedition, and subversion of the government here established by his Majesty's letters patent," and was fined two hundred pounds, and required to give bonds in the same amount for future good behavior.

This General Court did not sit again. The new
1663. May 27. Court, which came together in the following spring, felt it to be necessary to take some further notice of the King's mandate. After "long and serious debate," they raised a committee consisting of three Magistrates, four ministers, and five Deputies, besides Leverett, the Speaker, to "draw up what they should judge meet, ... and to present the same at the next session of Court." They invited the ministers, freemen, and other inhabitants within the jurisdiction, to transmit in writing their views to the committee, "so that, after serious consideration and conferences had, something might be deduced and agreed upon, if it were the will of God, that might be satisfactory and safe, as best conducing to his glory, and this people's felicity." The Court issued some orders for putting the militia in more efficient condition, and then adjourned. It met again, as usual, in
Oct. 20. the autumn; but its committee made no report. The policy of inactivity, when circumstances admitted of it, was generally in favor.

CHAPTER XII.

SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND.

Such were the first relations of Massachusetts to the reëstablished monarchy. When nearly a year had passed after the reception in New England of intelligence of the accession of King Charles, the General Court of Plymouth colony passed a vote declaring that they "did most humbly and faithfully submit and oblige themselves forever to his said Majesty, his heirs and successors." 1661. June 5.

The internal politics of Plymouth had been more disturbed than those of any other colony by the irruption of the Quakers. Scituate, then the richest town within its limits, was a favorite resort of those intruders, on account of its being upon the border of Massachusetts. The three principal inhabitants of that town, Cudworth, Hatherly, and Dunster (who had retired thither after resigning the Presidency of Harvard College), befriended them without adopting their opinions, and by their precept and practice of toleration brought themselves into dis esteem. Hatherly, when chosen an Assistant, was not allowed by his fellow-Magistrates to take the oath of office. Cudworth, a man of eminent merit in all respects, was still more 1658.

hardly dealt with. Besides being degraded from his offices, civil and military, he was disfranchised by a sentence which was not cancelled till after thirteen years.

New Haven took no action in respect to the King's return till quickened by a letter from Rawson, the Secretary of Massachusetts from which Governor Leete gathered that longer delay would be inexpedient. Leverett, the agent of Massachusetts at the British court, had written that it was observed there that no New England colony but Massachusetts had presented an Address. The General Court was convened, and "took the matter into serious consideration." The Court wrote to Massachusetts, vindicating themselves from the imputation of "any mind to slight or disown his Majesty's authority," and desiring that they might be considered as adopting for themselves the Address of Massachusetts, and that they might be allowed "to join in the proportionate share of charge for a common agent." After an adjournment of three weeks they came together again, and were then advised by the Governor to proclaim the King. Accordingly, after debate, they gave orders for a solemnity of proclamation, in which they declared "the inhabitants of the colony to be his Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects." The fugitive Colonels were not within hearing of the salve of musketry that honored the proclamation. Twe days before, they had gone from West Rock te Milford.

1661. July 4.

April 12.

Aug. 1.

Aug. 21.

Connecticut, though not prompt in acknowledging the King, had been less tardy than either Plymouth or New Haven. The first General Court of that colony, assembled after 1660. Oct. 4. the arrival of tidings of the new state of things in England, does not appear to have taken any action in respect to it. But in the following spring the Court voted to present an Address to the 1661. March 14. King, "thereby declaring and professing themselves, all the inhabitants of the colony, to be his Highness's lawful and faithful subjects," and praying the King for "grace and favor, and for the continuance and confirmation of such privileges and liberties as were necessary for the comfortable and peaceable settlement of the colony."

A form of Address, prepared by Governor Winthrop, was approved, and he was desired to May 16. proceed to England and present it. He was further instructed "to use all means to June 7. procure a copy of the patent" granted by the Earl of Warwick to Lord Say and Sele and his associates, and, if it could be found, to solicit a confirmation of its privileges from the King. At all events, he was to endeavor to obtain a royal charter with "liberties and privileges not inferior or short to what was granted to the Massachusetts," and covering a territory extending "eastward to Plymouth line, [which would have absorbed the Narragansett settlements,] northward to the limits of the Massachusetts colony, and westward to the Bay of Delloway [Delaware], if it might be." A charter like that of

Massachusetts had long been earnestly desired by Connecticut. In connection with New Haven, she had endeavored to obtain it from the Parliament, and when the messenger was lost at sea, had attempted to renew the application through Mr. Fenwick. Years had followed which afforded no opportunity for the revival of the project. But at no time had it been lost sight of.

In two or three months after his appointment to be agent in England, Winthrop set sail from New Amsterdam for that country, whence he had first come to an American wilderness thirty-one years before, and which he had now not seen during eighteen eventful years that had so changed the aspect of its society. Both from former friends and from others he had a flattering reception. The aged Lord Say and Sele, with whose business in America he had formerly been intrusted, cordially embraced his cause. The Royal Society was just then forming, with Robert Boyle for its President, already President of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England. Winthrop, who had made some attainments in physical science, was admitted a member, and the relations thus established by him were of advantage to his object.

The result of his application was the obtaining, at the end of a few months, of a charter for Connecticut with privileges of the most extraordinary kind. All that Massachusetts had given displeasure by claiming for herself was now expressly allowed to the new colony. Nineteer

1662. May 10.

patentees, with such associates as they should from time to time elect, were made a corporation under the name of "The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut." The boundaries of their territory were defined to be, Massachusetts on the north, "the sea" [Long Island Sound] on the south, "the South Sea" [the Pacific Ocean] on the west, and "the Narragancett River, commonly called Narragancett Bay," on the east. Thus it embraced the whole of New Haven colony, with the adjoining Dutch settlements; part of the lands claimed respectively by the planters of Providence and of Rhode Island; and that country east of Pequot River to which Massachusetts asserted a title. The colonial government was vested in a Governor, Deputy-Governor, twelve Assistants, and a house of Deputies, consisting of two members from each town or city. These officers were to be elected annually by the freemen of the colony; and the legislature was to meet twice a year. No power was wanting that belongs to an independent State, except that the General Court was forbidden to make laws "contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm of England;" and even this prohibition was nugatory, for want of any provision for its enforcement.

Winthrop was backed by powerful friends. He had excellent qualifications for the business he had undertaken; and he prosecuted it with diligence and zeal. But these facts do not entirely explain the extraordinary result of his endeavors. The in-

quiry remains, how it could be that a wary and arbitrary minister, intent on gathering into his master's hands all power that could be seized, was brought to endow a colony with what almost amounted to independence.

It did not escape Lord Clarendon, that, in the prosecution of his schemes against New England, the Confederacy was the power that would embarrass him. Accordingly it concerned him to disturb the cohesion of that league by interposing occasions of dissent among its members. Massachusetts was by far the most powerful of the confederate colonies, and was likely, on other accounts, to be found the most unmanageable. An obvious way to disable her was to raise up a rival power, and provide occasions of jealousy between them; and an obvious way of doing this was to enlarge Connecticut, between which colony and Massachusetts there had heretofore been disagreements, and to accomplish that enlargement by methods which Massachusetts would have to disapprove. Thus favored on the one hand, and obstructed on the other, Connecticut would be secured to the royal interest. The requisite enlargement would be obtained by the incorporation of New Haven into that colony, and this would bring other consequences satisfactory to the watchful minister. By the union, New Haven, which, like Massachusetts, attached the civil franchise to church-membership, would be deprived of that defence against the encroachments of prelacy. New Haven had given high displeasure

at court by sheltering the regicides. For that crime, political annihilation might seem to Lord Clarendon a fitting punishment.

It must be supposed to have been more because the minister positively insisted, than because Winthrop easily consented, that the new charter offered no choice to New Haven respecting the termination of its political life. The colony of which Winthrop was at the same time the envoy and the chief magistrate belonged to a confederacy, which in its very existence implied the independence of New Haven, and in its articles of agreement recognized and guarantied that independence. He had no authority to act for New Haven in anything, least of all in decreeing its political extinction. To Mr. Davenport, who, just before he embarked, expressed some anxiety lest the independence of New Haven should be invaded, he gave and reiterated the assurance "that no such thing was intended, but rather the contrary." After the charter had passed the seals, he appealed to his General Court to respect his engagement. But he must have known, throughout the transaction, that, the charter once executed, his personal control over it would cease, and that in all probability, much esteemed as he was, his wishes as to the use of it would be of little avail. Winthrop was not a man to be charged with double-dealing. But an apparent facility in his concessions takes the reader of these transactions by surprise.

It may have been some misgiving, on the agent's

part, as to the honorableness of the position in which he had placed himself, that occasioned a delay of several weeks before the transmission of the charter. At length it came, and was received in Connecticut with tumultuous joy, which permitted little delicacy to be shown to the wounded feelings of the New Haven people. Not waiting for action on the part of the sister colony, the General Court of Connecticut received the submission, not only of Southhold, a New Haven town acting in its corporate capacity, but also the submission of a minority of the inhabitants of Guilford, Greeenwich, and Stamford. They undertook to oust Massachusetts from Mystic and Southertown, by forbidding her officers in those settlements to exercise their functions. This impetuous beginning having been made, they appointed a committee of two Magistrates and two ministers "to go down to New Haven to treat with the gentlemen and others of their loving friends there."

Sept. 4.

Oct. 9

The rulers of New Haven colony asked for delay till they should "receive further information from the honored Mr. Winthrop, or satisfaction otherwise." Mr. Davenport deprecated the proposed union, and condemned the proceedings of Connecticut in emphatic terms. Mr. Street, his colleague, concluded a speech with the words of the prophet Isaiah: "What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust

Oct. 17.

in it." Leete's bad reputation with the government at home made him fearful of giving offence by opposition to the union, even if he was not at heart friendly to it, as some circumstances indicate. The freemen of the colony were convened, and raised a committee "to draw up an answer to the General Assembly of Connecticut out of these three heads: 1. That there be due witness-bearing against their sin; 2. That there may be a deferring of things till Mr. Winthrop's coming, or we [have] satisfaction otherwise; 3. That we can do nothing till we consult with the other confederates." Nov. 4.

But Connecticut was not to be so stayed. In Winthrop's absence, the Secretary, John Allyn of Hartford, a man of ability and resolution, was the leading spirit in the colony. He had determined on a thorough assertion of its claim; and he probably was impatient to finish the business before Winthrop should come home to embarrass it with any explanations or protests. Winthrop, in England, heard with distress of the trouble which he had caused. He wrote to the Deputy-Governor of his having given "assurance that it was not intended to meddle with any town or plantation that was settled under any other government. Unto this," he added, "I judge you are obliged." But the judgment of his colleagues was different. The letter appears to have been suppressed in Connecticut. Winthrop sent a copy of it to New Haven. 1663. March 3.

The General Court of Connecticut appointed
May 14. magistrates for the New Haven towns of Southhold, Stamford, and Greenwich, and at
Aug. 19. a later session raised a committee to bear a peremptory message, not to New Haven as a colony, but to "their honored friends of New Haven, Milford, Branford, and Guilford," as if these were but separate communities. The annual
Sept. 8. meeting of the Federal Commissioners was held at Boston. Winthrop, now just arrived from England, appeared as one of the Commissioners from Connecticut. Without opposition, Governor Leete and Benjamin Fenn were recognized as Commissioners for New Haven. Massachusetts protested against the claim set up by Connecticut to her territory east of Mystic River. New Haven represented the ill-treatment from which she was suffering, and asked redress. The Commissioners for Massachusetts and Plymouth pronounced their judgment that "the Colony of New Haven . . . . . might not, by any act of violence, have their liberty of jurisdiction infringed by any other of the United Colonies, without breach of the Articles of Confederation."

Connecticut persisted in her pretension. She did not fear the displeasure of the Confederacy, while sustained by the authority of the King. In the
Oct. 8. absence of the Governor, as the journal probably under his direction, records, another peremptory demand was made by the Court for the submission of the New Haven towns

Only three of them still held out, New Haven, Milford, and Branford. These seemed to themselves to have obtained an advantage in prolonging the contest when they received a royal missive requiring observance of the Navigation Laws, addressed to "the Governor and Assistants of New Haven," and bearing a date a year later than that by which New Haven was said to be annihilated. On the strength of it they issued a *Declaration*, calling upon seceders "to return to their due obedience, and pay their arrears of rates," under penalty of being proceeded against "as disloyal to his Majesty and disturbers of the peace."

June 21.

Dec.

The publication of this paper occasioned riots at Guilford and Stamford. Thereupon Leete convened his General Court, and advised the renewal of negotiations with Connecticut. The Court resolved not to treat till the usurpations which had been practised upon them were forborne. This decision was not without effect. Connecticut proposed, as preliminary to a treaty, the continuance, for the present, of the colonial government of New Haven, including a provisional restitution of the ancient order of things at Guilford and Stamford. And again New Haven held its annual election of Magistrates. Under the direction of the Court, the ministers, Davenport and Street, presented "all their grievances" in an elaborate treatise which bears the title "New Haven's Case stated." The

1664. Jan. 7.

Feb. 24.

May 25.

March

journal of the Connecticut Court contains no notice of this argument. An attempt to answer it would have been imprudent.

In the movement to obtain a charter for his colony, Winthrop had unexpectedly found himself obstructed by the interference of John Clarke, of Rhode Island, who had remained in England since
1651. the time when he went thither on his errand to the Parliament. After Clarke's special business had been concluded by the annulling of Coddington's "commission," his fellow-citizens from time to time employed him about some miscellaneous affairs, and especially in keeping up their communication with the republican government and with Cromwell, and securing good-will and protection in those quarters. For a series of years his professions of devotion to the republican leaders, and especially to the Protector, had been of the most obsequious character. They were abundantly authorized by the public acts of his colony, and by its letters of instruction addressed to him.

At its first meeting after the King came to enjoy
1660. his own again, the government of Rhode
Oct. 18. Island caused him to be proclaimed, and commissioned Clarke to prosecute its interests at court, which he accordingly proceeded to do; affirming in a memorial to the King that the people for whom he appeared had "still in their removes, and in the rest of their actings, made it manifest that they, as the true natives of England

had firmly adhered in their allegiance and loyalty to the sovereignty thereof." He was intrusted with his suit about a year before Winthrop's arrival in England; but Winthrop had been there several months, attending to his business, before he heard anything of the designs of Clarke. His charter for Connecticut had passed through the preliminary forms, and was awaiting the great seal, when it was arrested in consequence of representations made by the agent from Rhode Island. The question raised by Clarke related to the boundary line of Connecticut. The ancient patent from the Earl of Warwick to Lord Sale and Sele and others, subsequently transferred from these grantees to the planters on the Connecticut, had described the land conveyed as "lying and extending itself [westward] from a river there called Narragansett River." Intending merely to keep this eastern boundary, but to describe it with more precision, Winthrop, in his new charter, had used the words "bounded on the east by the Narrogancett River, commonly called *Narrogancett Bay*, where the said river falleth into the sea." To this identity between Narragansett River and Narragansett Bay Clarke objected, as will be presently explained.

A third party was interested in the settlement of the eastern boundary of Connecticut. This was the *Atherton Company*, so called from Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester, one of the partners. They had bought of the natives a tract of land on the western side of Narragansett Bay; and Oct. 13

when they heard that Connecticut was soliciting a charter, they naturally desired that their property should be placed under the government of that colony, rather than under the unstable government of Rhode Island. Winthrop, who was himself one of the associates, wrote from London that the arrangement he had made accorded with their wish. Rhode Island, however, maintained that the lands of the Atherton purchase belonged to her jurisdiction.

1662. Sept. 2.

In the month in which Winthrop informed his friends of his settlement of the eastern boundary of Connecticut, he learned that Clarke had made great progress towards settling it in a different manner. That bold and dexterous envoy had forced his way against one serious difficulty. The plantations which he represented had solicited and obtained, far more than others in New England, the favor of the usurping powers, which were now overthrown. But, on the other hand, the exclusion of Rhode Island from the Confederacy of New England must have seemed to Lord Clarendon to invest that colony with a claim to his friendly regard; and if the agent's personal griefs led him to manifest a vigorous hostility to Massachusetts, this may well have advanced his suit. When Winthrop thought that he had secured for Connecticut a territory extending eastward to Narragansett Bay, Clarke had obtained for Rhode Island the promise of a charter which pushed its boundary westward to the Paucatuck River, so

Sept.

as to include in the latter colony a tract twenty-five miles wide, and extending in length from the southern border of Massachusetts to the sea.

The interference of the charters with each other endangered both. The agents entered into a negotiation, which issued, after several months, 1663. April 17. in a composition effected by the award of four arbiters. Two articles of it were material. One was that Paucatuck River should "be the certain bounds between the two colonies, which said river should, for the future, be also called, 'alias, *Narrogansett*, or *Narrogansett River.*'" The other allowed the Atherton Company to choose "to which of those colonies they would belong." The undesirable consequences of a dispute were thus averted; though to say that "Paucatuck River" meant Narragansett Bay was much the same as to give to the Thames the name of the British Channel; and if the agreement between the agents should stand, Connecticut would be sadly curtailed of her domain.

The compact concluded, Winthrop without delay embarked for America. A singular edict from the King soon followed him. It was addressed to each of the confederated colonies, and charged them to extend to the Atherton Company their "neighborly kindness and protection." The occasion of it was recited to be that the King had "been given to understand that his good subjects, Thomas Chiffinch, Jonn Scott, John Winthrop, Daniel Denison," and others, "were June 21.

daily disturbed and unjustly molested in their possession and laudable endeavors by certain unreasonable and turbulent spirits of Providence colony in New England, to the great scandal of justice and government, and the eminent discouragement of that hopeful plantation." Thomas Chiffinch was the notorious pimp of Charles the Second. John Scott was a mysterious adventurer who passed repeatedly between England and the American colonies, and who was in England at this time. It appears that, without Winthrop's approval, Scott, whose character was not yet fully disclosed, had been engaged by an incautious member of the Atherton Company to make interest at court, and that he had proceeded to do so by the mediation of Chiffinch. When the fruit of his labors appeared, the grave worthies of New England could not fail to be scandalized at the association into which their names were brought in a solemn missive from the King.

It was in the third week after the date of this letter that Clarke's charter, which the King probably did not know that he had been contradicting, passed the seals. It created "a body corporate and politic, in fact and name, by the name of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America." Similar to the charter of Connecticut in grants marked by a liberality hitherto unexampled, it added to them the extraordinary provision that "no person within

July 8.

the said colony, at any time thereafter, should be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference of opinion in matters of religion which did not actually disturb the civil peace of the said colony." Lord Clarendon was creating a precedent with which, in due time, he might rebuke Massachusetts; and the King was already exercising that *dispensing power* to which he and his successor meant by-and-by to give a wider extension for the relief of their Romish friends. Among the Assistants appointed by the charter to hold office till the time of the first annual election, Williams was one, but not Coddington. In the first popular election also, Williams was chosen, and Coddington passed by. In one year only after this was Williams in the magistracy of the colony which he founded. 1670.

Matters were now all ripe for a conflict of jurisdiction between Rhode Island and Connecticut. Using the privilege of choice secured by the compact between the agents, the Atherton Company elected to place their lands, including a settlement known by the name of *Wickford*, under the government of the latter colony. Rhode Island enacted that all persons presuming to settle there without her leave should be "taken and imprisoned for such their contempt;" and she suited the action to the word in the case of four inhabitants of Wickford, one of them a constable appointed by Connecticut. 1663. July 10.

This proved to be the beginning of a series of provocations and reprisals between the inharmonious neighbors. But the attention of all the colonies was now turned in a direction different from that of disagreements among themselves.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROYAL COMMISSIONERS IN NEW ENGLAND.

The reader remembers that Massachusetts had rendered no satisfactory compliance with the royal demands transmitted through her agents. By the proceedings for an incorporation of New Haven into Connecticut, the Confederacy had now been deranged. The ministry of King Charles might well suppose, that, by the grant of charters to Connecticut and Rhode Island, the good-will of those colonies had been secured, and that, in the consequent transactions, ancient heart-burnings had been revived, and new interests and sentiments created, hostile to Massachusetts. There was a hold upon Plymouth through her hope of a similar indulgence; and, at all events, Plymouth was feeble in population and in wealth. It seemed, that, substantially, Massachusetts would have to stand alone in the championship of English liberty in New England.

No sooner was the charter of Connecticut despatched, than "the settlement of the plantations in New England was seriously debated and discoursed" in the Privy Council; and the Lord Chancellor announced that the King was about to send thither commissioners nominated by

1662 Sept. 25

the Duke of York (afterwards King James the Second). Those were busy times at court; but, seven months later, the King renewed his declaration of this purpose.

1663. April 10.

After the General Court of Massachusetts raised its committee to devise some course that might "be satisfactory and safe, as best conducing to God's glory and the people's felicity," a year passed by, and the Committee had made no report. There had been no tidings of action in England to direct their thoughts. The Court, now convened again for the annual elections, received intelligence which was recognized in the following proceedings: —

May.

1664. May 18.

"The Court, being informed that some of his Majesty's ships are on their voyage to these parts, in which are several gentlemen of quality, do therefore order that the captain of the Castle, on the first sight and knowledge of their approach, give speedy notice thereof to the honored Governor and Deputy-Governor; and that Captain James Oliver and Captain William Davis are hereby ordered forthwith to repair on board the said ships, and to acquaint those gentlemen that this Court hath and doth by them present their respects to them, and that it is the desire of the authority of this place that they take strict order that their under officers and soldiers, in their coming on shore to refresh themselves, at no time exceed a convenient number, and that without arms, and that they behave themselves orderly amongst his Majesty's

good subjects here, and be careful of giving no offence to the people and laws of this place; and invite them on shore, provision being made for their present refreshment." "The Court, being sensible of many distractions and troubles under which the country do labor in sundry respects, as also the sad estate and condition of God's people and interests in other places, do commend unto all the churches and people of the colony . . . . . a solemn day of humiliation and prayer for the Lord's mercy to be towards us, and his gracious return to his people, according as we and they may or do stand in need thereof." "Forasmuch as it is of great concernment to this commonwealth to keep safe and secret our patent, it is ordered the patent, and duplicate, belonging to the country be forthwith brought into the Court; and that there be two or three persons appointed by each House to keep safe and secret the said patent and duplicate, in two distinct places, as to the said committee shall seem most expedient; and that the Deputy-Governor, Major-General Leverett, Captain Clarke [Deputy for Boston], and Captain Johnson [Deputy for Woburn] are appointed to receive the grand patent from the Secretary, and to dispose thereof as may be most safe for the country." The train-bands in and near Boston were put in order. A tried officer, Captain Davenport, was placed in command of the Castle. Having trimmed their vessel, the wakeful pilots awaited the storm.

They did not await it long. At the close of a

summer day, as the Sabbath stillness in Boston was beginning, two ships of war, the *Guinea*, carrying thirty-six guns, and the *Elias*, carrying thirty, came to anchor off Long Wharf. They were the first vessels of the royal navy ever seen in that harbor. Officers went on board, and came back to the town with intelligence that the ships had sailed ten weeks before from England in company with two others, the *Martin*, of sixteen guns, and the *William and Nicholas*, of ten, from which they had been parted in bad weather; and that the fleet conveyed three or four hundred soldiers, and four gentlemen charged with the King's business. These were Colonel Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Mr. Samuel Maverick.

July 23.

It may have been supposed in England, that, in the process of reducing the colonies to subjection, some occasion might arise for employing the military force that was now sent over. The ostensible reason, however, was different. The King, reviving that claim to North America which his predecessors had founded on its discovery by the Cabots, had lately given to his brother James, Duke of York, all the coast country between the rivers Connecticut and Delaware, including Long Island, which Lord Clarendon had bought of Lord Stirling for his royal son-in-law. The Commissioners who now arrived were charged to take possession of that country for its new proprietor, and to call on the colonies for military aid for that purpose. The

grant to the Duke also conveyed to him the country between the rivers St. Croix and Kennebec.

Nicolls, the principal Commissioner, was a man of honor. In the Civil War he had served the King in the field. While the royal family were in exile, he was attached to the household of the Duke of York. On their return, he was made one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to that prince; and now, when the lately constituted province should be reduced, he was appointed to administer it as the proprietor's deputy.

Neither Carr nor Cartwright was a suitable person for a trust like that with which they were invested. Carr, husband of Sir Henry Bennett's sister, to which connection he probably owed his place, was rapacious, passionate, and a hard drinker. Cartwright, said to be a Papist, was at once insolent and tricky. In some respects Maverick was eminently qualified for the business in hand. A dweller in New England before the charter government of Massachusetts was erected, he had watched, from the nearest point of view and with an intelligence sharpened by disaffection, the course by which that government had established, in all but the name, an independence of the parent country. With some excellent qualities, he was prone to strong resentments, and these had been excited in successive quarrels with the Magistrates. At the Restoration, he lost no time in looking after his revenge; and he was clothed with ample power for executing it, when he was placed upon this commission.

While Maverick and Carr remained at Portsmouth, where they had arrived three days before their colleagues came to Boston, Nicolls and Cartwright, on the third day after disembarking, had a conference with the Magistrates. They presented a letter, addressed to the Governor, from the King; the King's commission to themselves; and a portion of the instructions for their action under it.

July 26.

The letter set forth various objects of the embassy, some of which were, to obtain information such as would enable the King to advance the well-being of the people of New England, and refute the "malicious calumnies that his subjects in those parts did not submit to his government, but looked upon themselves as independent upon him and his laws;" to settle questions of boundaries between different colonies; and to inquire into the insufficient obedience paid to his former letter sent by Bradstreet and Norton. The commission authorized the persons therein named, or any three of them, — or any two, Colonel Nicolls being one, and having a casting vote, — to visit all the New England colonies, and "examine and determine all complaints and appeals, in all causes and matters, as well military as criminal and civil, ... according to their good and sound discretions, and to such instructions as they should from time to time receive."

Of instructions there were two sets, with the contents of both of which it is probable that th

Governor of Massachusetts was already acquainted; for it is certain that he had means of obtaining secret intelligence. One of these papers was composed in a tone conciliating and cautious, on the whole. It abounded in professions of the King's respect and friendship for the colony. It directed the Commissioners to propose settlements of boundary lines for the King's approval; to report on the methods in use for educating the young and converting the natives, on the constitutions of local government in Church and State, on the revenue, military organization, commerce, and other matters illustrative of the condition and resources of the people; to urge a compliance with the King's requisition made two years before; to search for and apprehend any persons, charged with high treason, who might be lurking within the colony; and to "take care that such orders were established that the Act of Navigation should be punctually observed."

The other set of instructions to the Commissioners was "to be considerated and communicated only between themselves." In it they were informed that "the main end and drift of their employment was to lead and dispose the people to desire to renew their charters, and to make such alterations as should appear necessary for their own benefit." To this end they were to proceed with great circumspection, according to special directions which were given. "There are two points," they were told. "we could heartily wish

should be gained: the first, that we have the nomination of the Governor, or approbation; the other, that the militia should be put under an officer nominated or recommended by us. But how to approach to these two points we cannot tell, but must leave it to your skill and dexterity."

The first business, however, was that which related to the reduction of New Netherland; and for the present the Commissioners proposed nothing except the raising by Massachusetts of a military force to march within four weeks on that expedition. The Magistrates replied, that they would submit the matter to the General Court, which they had summoned to meet within a week for the consideration of it. The Commissioners, after expressing their displeasure at this delay, informed the Magistrates that they should have other communications to make when they should return from New Netherland, "and commended to the Court that in the mean time they would further consider of his Majesty's letter" received two years before.

The Court did consider, and expressed the result of their reflections in a "resolution, God assisting, to bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, and to adhere to their patent, the duties and privileges thereof, so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and man." They passed an order calling for two hundred volunteers for the New Netherland campaign. Proceeding to discuss the King's former letter, they repealed the law which made

Aug. 3.

church-membership a condition of the franchise, superseding it however by another, of which the practical operation would not be materially different; for, by the new law, admission to the franchise could only be obtained through a vote of the General Court founded on two certificates, one being from the candidate's minister to the effect that he was orthodox in faith, and of virtuous life, the other from the selectmen of the place where he resided, to the effect that he was a freeholder, and paid ten shillings annual tax. Lastly, the Court raised a committee "to prepare and draw up a petition for the continuance of the privileges granted by charter, filled with such rational arguments as they could find to the end aforesaid."

The petition, after more than two months spent in its preparation, was adopted at a special meeting of the General Court, for transmission to the King. With moving eloquence it set forth the vast amount of sacrifice by which the liberties hitherto possessed by Massachusetts had been purchased, and urged the injustice of encroaching upon them. But it was eloquence by which the King's hard adviser was not impressible. Meanwhile, the Commissioners, leaving Boston before the General Court came together there, had proceeded by sea towards New Amsterdam, where they were joined by parties of volunteers from Connecticut and Long Island. The conquest of what is now the commercial capital of America, then numbering about fifteen hundred inhabitants, proved

Sept. 19.

easy. Stuyvesant was resolute, but the burghers refused to be enrolled, the garrison of regulars mutinied, and nothing remained but to obtain indulgent terms. Nicolls took military possession of the town, and caused himself to be proclaimed Deputy-Governor of *New York*. Cartwright sailed up the river, and received the surrender of Fort Orange, thenceforward called Fort *Albany*, from the second ducal title of the King's brother. Carr, with two ships, proceeded to the South River (the Delaware), and reduced the feeble posts in that quarter. What is now New Jersey was called *Albania*, and Long Island received the name of *Yorkshire*. New Netherland was effaced from the map. British America extended along the coast from Labrador to Florida.

Aug. 29.

Sept. 10.

The new state of things enforced a settlement of the dispute between Connecticut and New Haven. If the King's new grant of the south-western region of New England should take effect, the whole of New Haven colony, and as much of Connecticut as lay on the western side of the river of that name, would be taken to constitute a broad plantation for the Popish Duke of York. A peaceable union between the two colonies would afford to both a hope of escape from this doom. For New Haven, at all events, it seemed that nothing remained except the choice between absorption into Connecticut and submission to New York. When intelligence reached New Haven of what was to be

expected from the royal Commissioners, a General Court was at once convened. After sorrowful debate, the Court yielded to the necessity which seemed to have overtaken them, only saving their pride by a vote in these words: "That if they of Connecticut come and make a claim upon us in his Majesty's name and by virtue of their charter, then we shall submit to them until the Commissioners of the Colonies do meet." Aug. 11.

The Commissioners of the Colonies held their annual meeting at Hartford. Commissioners from New Haven appeared, and, notwithstanding a remonstrance from Connecticut, were admitted to their seats. The scene was mournful. Little business was done. The Commissioners declared their opinion to be unchanged respecting the merits of the case between Connecticut and New Haven, but earnestly advised "that such a compliance might be between them whereby the sad consequences that would inevitably follow upon their further contentions one with another might be prevented." They proposed, that, if a union should be consummated, two Commissioners should thenceforward represent the one colony thus formed. A vote that thenceforward the Commissioners should meet only every third year was a significant symptom of a conviction that the Confederacy had lived out its time. Sept. 1.

Leete again convoked his General Court, and laid before them the question whether any further step should be taken before the Sept. 14

arrival of the royal Commissioners, from whom a visit was immediately expected. The final surrender was still a measure too painful to be taken; "the Assembly was broke up, and no more done at this time." A month passed, and again messengers came from Connecticut to New Haven, authorized to invest all the freemen with the franchise of the former colony, to admit other freemen, who should be found duly qualified, and to announce the appointment of Governor Leete, and other principal citizens, to exercise "magistratical power" for Connecticut in their respective towns. Winthrop, Allyn, and three others were sent to New York to argue before the Commissioners the question of the southern and western limits of the new colony. It was a humiliating position for Connecticut to be placed in; but, in the circumstances, the result was considered favorable. The Commissioners decided that Long Island belonged to the Duke's province, and that, for the new colony to be constituted of Connecticut and New Haven, the western boundary should be the creek called *Momoronook*, twelve miles east of West Chester, and a line drawn from the head of its tide-water, in a northwesterly direction, to the border of Massachusetts.

Oct. 13.

Nov. 30.

To all this there could be only one sequel for New Haven. Another General Court was held, in which, however, only the towns of New Haven, Guilford, and Branford were represented. A vote was passed, under protest, to

Dec. 13.

submit to the unwelcome necessity; the controversy was terminated; and New Haven colony was no more. This was in the middle of winter. At the time of annual elections in the following spring, the government of the consolidated colony was organized. Five towns of the now disbanded colony sent Deputies; and Leete and three others, lately Magistrates of New Haven, were chosen Assistants of Connecticut. 1665. May 11.

Nicolls was detained at New York by the business of his new government. His colleagues met at Boston, where, in a conference with the Magistrates, they said they were going for a little time to Plymouth, "and further signified their desire that order might be taken for the assembling of all the inhabitants at the day of the election, that so they might understand his Majesty's grace and favor to them." The Magistrates wanted no such meeting of "all the inhabitants;" it was enough for them that the freemen would come together; and they excused themselves from taking part in the summons proposed. The Commissioners then distributed the proposed invitation in their own names, after which they set off for Plymouth. Their business was ripening. Three months would determine the issue of the great contest with Massachusetts. The intervening time they were to employ, according to their instructions, in so dealing with the smaller colonies, that Massachusetts, when assailed, should be found in the weakness of a lonely and unsustained position. Feb. 4. Feb. 15. Feb. 17.

As far as the preliminary process went, the event answered to their hopes. Plymouth was feeble in numbers and in property, and was always liable to be beguiled by the hope of that charter which she was never destined to obtain; and her Governor, Thomas Prince, now an old man, did not feel attracted to the anxieties and perils of a struggle with the home government. The Commissioners required of Plymouth to enact that all house-
Feb. 22. holders should take the oath of allegiance; that the courts should be held in the King's name; that the franchise should not depend on religious opinion; that the Christian ordinances should be free to persons "of orthodox opinions, competent knowledge, and civil lives, not scandalous;" and that "all laws, and expressions in laws, derogatory to his Majesty," should be repealed. Some of these demands were the same as had occasioned so much consternation in Massachusetts, when communicated through Norton and Bradstreet. By Plymouth all were now agreed to. The Commissioners wrote home, strongly commending the compliance of the loyal colony; and the King acknowledged its "dutifulness and obedience" in a cordial letter. "Your carriage," he said, "seems to be set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of the colony of the Massachusetts, as if, by their refractoriness, they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance."

CHAPTER XIV.

ROYAL COMMISSIONERS IN NEW ENGLAND.

In the settlements on Narragansett Bay, whither the Commissioners next proceeded, they were awaited with affectionate expectation. Clarke, after twelve years' absence in England, had returned to Rhode Island nine months before this time, and, soon after his arrival, had gone to New York to confer with the Commissioners, and, as may be presumed, to aid their counsels against Massachusetts. The Governor and Deputy-Governor of Rhode Island had addressed the Commissioners at Boston with deferential supplications for their favor and profuse assurances of devotion to the King. The planters at Warwick flattered themselves that their hour for revenge had come; and they lost no time in approaching the deliverers.

1664. June 7.

Oct.

1665. March 4.

Perhaps it would have been better for the rulers of Rhode Island had they been less lavish of professions. The Commissioners, finding them in a mood so compliant, took advantage the more easily of that cession of the Narragansett country to the King which had been procured twenty years before by Gorton and his company. They erected

it into a distinct government, by the name of the *King's Province*, with the Paucatuck River for its western boundary. They decreed that the Atherton Company should relinquish its lands on the repayment by the Indians of the purchase-money; and, as a provisional arrangement till the royal pleasure should be known, they authorized the Magistrates of Rhode Island to administer the government of King's Province.

March 20.

Roger Williams distrusted the expediency of the method in which the Commissioners were proceeding. He thought it would have shown better judgment to bring Massachusetts first into subjection. He wrote to Carr: "Your Honor will never effect by force a safe and lasting conclusion, until you have first reduced the Massachusetts to the obedience of his Majesty; and then these appendants, towed at their stern, will easily, and not before, wind about also." But the Commissioners, not without reason, thought that they understood their business better than their officious adviser, and they kept on their way to Connecticut. Here they made the same requisitions as had been complied with by Plymouth, and received an equaliy satisfactory reply.

Returning, after a few days, as far as Rhode Island, they there went through the same process, with the same success. Encouraged by the exceeding facility of that colony, they instituted some further proceedings, which might materially serve them for precedents elsewhere

May 3.

They entertained appeals in litigations between private parties, referring most of them for final determination to the General Court, or the Governor, — a course which procured for them at the same time an acknowledgment of their superior authority, and the credit of performing an act of grace. The colony "returned their humble thanks to his Majesty for sending Commissioners," and assured him of its purpose to "promote his royal interest to the very utmost of its power, however the other colonies, or any of them, should stand affected, or prove disloyal." The Commissioners informed the King of their perfect satisfaction with Rhode Island; and the King complimented that colony and Connecticut on their good behavior, in the same terms as were used by him in writing to Plymouth at the same time.

All was now ready, as far as it could be made so, for the final and critical experiment; and the Commissioners collected at Boston. May 2. Preparation was made by the authorities for their reception; but they preferred to come separately and obscurely into the town, and to take up their lodging at Captain Breedon's house. Nicolls, coming from New York, was the last to arrive; he joined his colleagues only the day before the annual Court for Elections. The parties confronted each other with a conviction on both sides that there was now to be a decisive conflict. It was conducted on both sides with spirit, and was begun and ended within a month.

The Commissioners were to have no more words with Endicott. At the time of the last conference they had had with him, he was old, and had for some months been becoming infirm; and at the end of four weeks from that time he was carried to his honored grave. New England, when she counts up the benefactors eminently worthy of her grateful and reverent remembrance, can never forget his name. Yet it cannot be said that, when he was taken away at one of the most perilous crises of her history, his presence was found indispensable to the public safety. His death placed the Deputy-Governor, Bellingham, at the head of affairs. Bellingham was bred a lawyer. There is some reason to think that he drew the charter which bore the signature of King Charles the First. At all events, no English lawyer — still less the official strangers, who were men of other pursuits — was competent to a more skilful handling of that instrument than the old man who was now to use it in defence of the commonwealth.

Some of the circumstances in which the Magistrates found themselves were far from inspiriting. Feb. 25. Lord Clarendon and Secretary Morrice had March 15. written to them in terms of vehement censure respecting their petition to the King. Their friend, Robert Boyle, was scarcely better pleased. March 17. He declared himself "amazed to find that they demanded a revocation of the commission and Commissioners."

The combatants approached each other with

caution. On the day before the annual election, the Commissioners made a preliminary communication, containing no specific demand, except for a map of the territory, which the Magistrates readily engaged to furnish as soon as it could be prepared. Morrice had informed them that it would be disagreeable to the King that Endicott should be again chosen Governor; and they may have been informed by the Commissioners of the royal wish expressed in their instructions, that they would elect Nicolls to that office. The question as to Endicott had been disposed of by a higher Power. Bellingham was chosen Governor, and was succeeded in the second office by Francis Willoughby, a man of political sentiments as high-toned as his own. May 3.

The day after the election, the Court applied to the Commissioners for a full statement of what the King would have. The Commissioners replied, that such was not the method they preferred; but that, "when they had received an answer to that which they had given in, they would then present them with more work." They proceeded to complain of the long neglect of the King's demands sent by Norton and Bradstreet, and of that unsatisfactory expression of loyalty which appeared to limit its obligations within the terms of the patent. Communicating the substance of several of their instructions, they said that it was their business to inquire into the means of education; to note offences committed by per- May 4.

sons in authority; to obtain the apprehension of traitors; and to insist on a compliance with the royal demands, now remaining unaccomplished for nearly three years. They desired that the charge of collecting the local statistics might be intrusted to some persons on the spot. They specified a violation of the Navigation Laws, said to have been committed three years before, and declared their "will and pleasure" to be, that the colonial authorities should institute an inquiry concerning it, and "cause justice to be done." And they desired to be furnished with a copy of the colonial laws for examination.

At this juncture, a practical question of the highest interest was interposed. It was felt by both parties that nothing was more vital to the position claimed by Massachusetts than that her judicial administration should not be subject to revision by the crown. A vicious person, named

1664. Oct. 19. John Porter, living at Warwick, under a sentence of banishment from Massachusetts, had there complained to the Commissioners,

1665. April 8. and been furnished by them with a safe conduct to come to Boston for a hearing of his case before them. Apprised of this transaction,

May 9 the Court wrote to the Commissioners that by it "they apprehended their patent, and his Majesty's authority therein committed unto them, to be greatly infringed." The Commissioners asked a conference with a committee

May 11. of the Court. At this interview, the com-

mittee argued largely, "that his Majesty's charter gave to the Governor and Company here full and absolute power and authority for the government of his subjects of this colony, for the making of laws suitable to that end, not repugnant to the laws of England," and "for the putting such laws in execution."

The Commissioners professed themselves to be of a different mind. They declared their purpose to hear appeals, and to proceed without impanelling juries. After this it was plain, if it had not been before, that there could be no agreement. A discussion, running through a week, was conducted on the part of the Court with great skill in argument and moderation of language. After ranging over various matters, it came back to the vital question of the competency of the Commissioners to sit in Massachusetts as a Court of Appeal. The Commissioners repeated their assertion of it in a peremptory letter, concluding with "one question, whereunto," said they, "we expect your positive answer: Whether you do acknowledge his Majesty's commission, wherein we are nominated Commissioners, to be of full force to all the intents and purposes therein contained." May 18.

Bellingham and the Court were not overwhelmed by this question, as it may have been supposed they would be. The Court replied: "We humbly conceive it is beyond our line to declare our sense of the power, intent, or purpose of your commission. It is enough for us to ac- May 22.

quaint you what we consider is granted to us by his Majesty's royal charter. If you rest not satisfied with our former answer, it is our trouble, but we hope it is not our fault." The Commissioners, with a rebuke for "such dilatory answers," sent notice, that, on the following day, "at nine of the clock of the morning, at the house of Captain Thomas Breedon," they meant to hear and determine the cause of Mr. Thomas Deane and others, plaintiffs, against the Governor and Company and Joshua Scottow, merchant, defendants.

May 23.

But they were too sanguine. The hearing did not take place. At eight o'clock of the morning of the appointed day, a messenger of the General Court took his stand before the door of Captain Breedon, and published, with sound of trumpet, a proclamation, whereby the Court explained the intended usurpation of the Commissioners, and then, "in his Majesty's name, and by the authority to them committed by his royal charter, declared to all the people of this colony, that, in observance of their duty to God and to his Majesty, and to the trust committed unto them by his good subjects in this colony, they could not consent unto, nor give their approbation of, the proceedings of the above-said gentlemen; neither could it consist with their allegiance that they owed to his Majesty, to countenance any shoula in so high a manner go cross unto his Majesty's irect charge, or should be their abettors or con

May 24.

senters thereunto." The proclamation was repeated, with like parade, in two other parts of the town.

The Commissioners saw themselves to be helpless. "We shall not," they wrote to the Court, "lose more of our labors upon you, but refer it to his Majesty's wisdom, who is of power enough to make himself to be obeyed in all his dominions." On the same day they received from the Court the map which had been desired; and they furnished a list of a number of amendments which they proposed to have made in the existing laws, in order to a fuller recognition of the King's authority, and compliance with his wishes.

The Court summoned Deane and his associates before them for a reëxamination of their case, and gave notice to the Commissioners to be present. The Commissioners replied by declaring it to be "contrary to his Majesty's will and pleasure that the cause should be examined by any other Court or persons than themselves." They then dispersed from Boston. Nicolls went back to his government of New York, and his colleagues proceeded to the towns by the Piscataqua, where they obtained a few signatures to a petition to the King, praying him for relief from the government of Massachusetts. The towns of Portsmouth and Dover applied to the General Court; and three Magistrates, Danforth, Leverett, and Lusher, were directed to repair to that region, and take such steps as might seem to them to

May 26.

July.

be required. They presently reported that they found everything quiet, and that the great body of the people would deprecate any change.

Oct 10.

From the Piscataqua towns, the three Commissioners proceeded to the settlements further east. Here, after the King's restoration, there had been some symptoms of disaffection to the government of Massachusetts. Taking advantage of this, they proceeded, at York, to constitute a government for the eight towns, independent alike of Massachusetts and of the proprietary claim of the grandson of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Continuing their journey to the new province of the Duke of York beyond the Kennebec, they there made similar arrangements for the government of the few and scattered inhabitants, and gave to the territory the name of *Cornwall.*

June 23.

Sept. 5.

On their return, they merely passed through Boston. Carr went to look after his interests in the Delaware country, and in the second following year sailed for England, where he died the next day after landing. Maverick fixed his home at New York, where the Duke gave him a house "in the Broad Way." Cartwright sailed for England in a fury of displeasure, carrying the Report of the Commissioners, and a mass of documents for its illustration. He was taken at sea by a Dutch cruiser, and stripped of all his effects, including his papers; and, while copies were awaited, the indignation which he labored to inflame wanted fuel

the minister he had served was falling from power; and the impending war with France had a paramount claim on the thoughts of men in office.

Under whatever disadvantages pursued, the quarrel could not yet in England be abandoned with dignity. Secretary Morrice conveyed 1666. April 10. to Massachusetts the King's "express command and charge that the Governor and Council should forthwith make choice of five or four persons to attend upon his Majesty, whereof Mr. Richard Bellingham and Major Hathorne were to be two, both which his Majesty commanded upon their allegiance to attend." The Court, after a delay of some months for reflection, and Sept after prayer and consultation with several of the elders, replied that already they had "in all humility given their reasons why they could not submit to the Commissioners and their mandates the last year, to the substance whereof they had not to add, and therefore could not expect that the ablest persons among them could be in a capacity to declare their cause more fully. We must, therefore," they said, "commit this, our great concernment, unto Almighty God."

The Court were well disposed to lighten, in any upright way, the arduous task they had assumed; and the last business done at the recent session was to take measures for sending to the King a present of masts for the use of the royal navy. It cost the colony nearly two thousand pounds, and was very gratefully received in England, being so season-

able that it was afterwards thought to have materially contributed to the favorable issue of the existing war with France.

When three years had passed since a meeting of the Federal Congress, six Commissioners came together at Hartford. One star was lost out of its sphere; and with the wholeness of the system, its attractions, its balance, and its forces had departed. Of the brave Confederacy of the Four Colonies, only the shadow of a great name remained.

1667. Sept. 5.

The defunct jurisdiction of New Haven was complimented by the election of Leete, who now came as one of the Commissioners for Connecticut, to be President of the Congress. The Commissioners disposed of a little business relative to the preaching to the Indians, and agreed on a proposal to the several colonies for a new confederation, with some alteration of the terms of the original compact.

But, if the Confederacy was crippled, Massachusetts was neither won to the court, nor overcome, nor disabled, nor intimidated. And now Lord Clarendon had fallen from power, and the ministers afterwards called the *Cabal* were at the helm. In what Massachusetts knew of them, she saw nothing to discourage her from proceeding to reëstablish her position, and reclaim what remained withholden of her rights.

The French war had frightened the settlers in Maine, living as they did in scattered families, near

to Indian tribes, who were under the influence of the Romish missionaries. The King of England took no thought for them; Gorges could not defend them; the only power in a posture to afford them protection was Massachusetts. So the ancient loyalty to her was revived and increased, and little opposition to her claims was likely to be manifested, except what might be offered by interested officials. It is true that the King, when he ordered Bellingham and Hathorne to England, had directed that the government of Maine should be left as it had been arranged by the Commissioners. But quite as serious risks had been already taken by the brave colony as would be incurred by disobedience to that command.

The General Court commissioned the Magistrates Leverett and Tyng, and the Deputies Waldron and Pike, to repair to York, and reconstruct the lawful government. They were met by some opposition, which, however, they overcame, partly by friendly reasoning, and partly by a harmless show of force. Constables were sworn; military officers were put in commission for six companies; and on the third day of their visit, the commissioners set off for their return to Massachusetts, to report that once more she was mistress of Maine. She might seem to herself to stand erect again, as sovereign as in the time of Cromwell, and with the advantage of more people, more wealth, institutions better knit together, and a generation of citizens born upon her soil.

1668. May.

July 9.

BOOK III.

FINAL RELATIONS TO THE STUART KINGS.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION AFTER FORTY YEARS.

When the Confederacy of the Four Colonies, having lasted twenty-two years, was brought to an end by the absorption of New Haven colony into Connecticut, there were probably in New
1665. England between forty thousand and forty-five thousand English people. Of this number twenty-five thousand may have belonged to Massachusetts; ten thousand to Connecticut, as newly constituted; five thousand to Plymouth; and three thousand to Rhode Island. They inhabited ninety towns, of which four were in Rhode Island, twelve in Plymouth, twenty-two in Connecticut, and the rest in Massachusetts. For subsistence they depended much upon the sea, and upon the communication which it afforded with the world that had been left; and accordingly most of their settlements were on the coast. Dedham and Concord were respectively ten miles and sixteen miles dis-

tant from it. From Providence and Warwick, forty miles from the ocean, there was a convenient navigation to it by Narragansett Bay. Hadley and Northampton were the remotest frontier towns, and their communication with the world outside was mostly by the channel of the Connecticut. For them, however, as well as for Springfield, there was a more direct route to Massachusetts Bay through the woods. On that way lay Brookfield, thirty miles from the river, and Lancaster and Marlborough about forty miles further on. Generally, the sites that were selected for these inland settlements, as well as for others of later origin, were broad and fertile alluvial plains.

The Royal Commissioners sent home an account of the condition of New England which deserves attention, though, by reason of their imperfect knowledge, it cannot challenge implicit confidence even in respect to facts which they had no motive for misrepresenting. Connecticut, according to their report, had "many scattering towns, not worthy of their names, and a scholar to their minister in every town or village." In Rhode Island, they said, were "the best English grass and most sheep, the ground very fruitful, ewes bringing ordinarily two lambs, corn yielding eighty for one, and in some places they had had corn twenty-six years together without manuring. In this province only they had not any places set apart for the worship of God; there being so many subdivided sects, they could not agree to meet together in one

1666.

place, but, according to their several judgments, they sometimes associated in one house, sometimes in another." In Plymouth, it was the practice to "persuade men, sometimes to compel them, to be freemen; so far were they from hindering any. . . . . They had about twelve small towns, one saw-mill for boards, one bloomary for iron, neither good river, nor good harbor, nor any place of strength; they were so poor they were not able to maintain scholars to their ministers, but were necessitated to make use of a gifted brother in some places." The commodities of Massachusetts were "fish, which was sent into France, Spain, and the Straits, pipe-staves, masts, fir boards, some pitch and tar, pork, beef, horses, and corn, which they sent to Virginia, Barbadoes, etc., and took tobacco and sugar for payment, which they often sent for England. There was good store of iron made in this province." In the Piscataqua towns, were "excellent masts gotten, ... and upon the river above twenty saw-mills, and there were great store of pipe-staves made, and great store of good timber spoiled." In Maine there were but "few towns, and those much scattered. . . . . They were rather farms than towns." In Cornwall, the Duke of York's province beyond the Kennebec, there were "three small plantations, the biggest of which had not above thirty houses in it, and those very mean ones too, and spread over eight miles at least. Those people for the most part were fishermen, and never had any government among them;

most of them were such as had fled hither from other places to avoid justice."

In Boston, the principal town of America, the houses were "generally wooden, the streets crooked, with little decency and no uniformity; and there neither months, days, seasons of the year, churches, nor inns were known by their English names. At Cambridge, they had a wooden college, and in the yard a brick pile of two bayes for the Indians, where the Commissioners saw but one [Indian]. They said they had three more at school. It might be feared this college might afford as many schismatics to the Church, and the corporation as many rebels to the King, as formerly they had done, if not timely prevented."

In the sixth year after the dispute between the Royal Commissioners and Massachusetts, the General Court of that colony caused to be published a revised collection of the "General Laws and Liberties." In the same year, the colonies of Plymouth and Connecticut made each a similar publication of laws then in force. A study of these codes suggests important inferences respecting both the character and the condition of the communities which constructed them, and of which they regulated the order and the intercourse. They present to the view a social system watchfully guarding the rights of life, liberty, property, and reputation; promoting the public contentment and wealth by judiciously fostering the pursuits of industry; affording a generous encouragement to

1672.

talent and merit; careful of the public morals, as of the community's paramount interest; and wisely attentive to the duty of the living generation to provide for the security and well-being of the generations to come. As the population of the four colonies was to a great extent the same in origin, past experiences, and present condition, so the league which connected them in a political union had helped to maintain a similarity in institutions and manners. Thus their several codes bear witness to a substantial uniformity in the social system which grew up among them. Even the language of the laws of both Plymouth and Connecticut is in great part borrowed from the code of Massachusetts. The main difference to be remarked in a comparison of the three codes is incident to the difference between the colonies in respect to amount of population, and consequently to variety of relations in business, and in other pursuits and interests. The system of law was more minute and elaborate in Massachusetts than in Connecticut, and more so in Connecticut than in Plymouth. In Plymouth there were as yet no counties, nor did the Deputies to the General Court sit as a separate body.

It must be admitted that colonization is a hazardous step in respect not only to the superficial advantages which make a fortunate community, but even to the sentiments and habits which afford security for social order. The emigrant to a new country, while he dooms his immediate posterity

to formidable hardships, exposes them to degeneracy from himself in culture of mind, manners, and temper. His own first business must be to make a home, and provide the means of subsistence; to take precautions against a strange climate and uncongenial neighbors; and to arrange with his companions the terms on which they are to live together, keeping the peace among themselves and lending mutual protection.

By the time his attention has been relieved from such immediately pressing cares, his children have grown up to manhood, and new actors are stepping upon the stage. In respect to the stronger qualities of character, the men born upon the soil, who are to succeed to the conduct of affairs as the first settlers die or grow old, will not be found the worse by reason of their early familiarity with trouble and danger; but in the refinements of life it cannot be expected that they will excel, and it will be to their credit if they are orderly and peaceable, still more if they prove to have mastered sufficient knowledge for practical occasions. For while they were growing up, schools and colleges, if ever so promptly undertaken, can at best have been only in the process of organization; every hand has been liable to be in demand for its share of work, nor are the discomforts of a straitened and harassed life favorable to the amenities of social intercourse, or even without effect to generate that selfishness which is its fatal bane. The presence of historical objects, the habitual contact with transmitted

thoughts and feelings which local associations keep alive, provide a stimulating education for the mind, which it cannot spare without some loss. The consummate flowers and fruits of a high civilization seem to require to be nurtured by roots that have been long penetrating into a native soil.

Accordingly it would not have been matter of surprise if the New Englander of the first indigenous generation had been found to be a rude, coarse, unlettered, unmannered, sensual, turbulent person. It might have been supposed, not unreasonably, that a retrograde step had been taken in the direction of barbarism, and that the next step of progress would have to be made from a lower level. Such an inference would, however, derive little justification from what we know of the men who managed the affairs of New England during the reign of Charles the Second. A large majority of those men, and of the freemen who supported them, and of the non-freemen who lived quietly and thankfully under their government, were of American birth. But their English parents had meditated maturely on the conditions of respectable and happy living, and of the decline and decay of States. In the busy and imperilled infancy of their commonwealth, they had never lost sight of the importance of preventing learning from being buried in the graves of the fathers; a college and schools were among the necessities for which they earliest made provision, and they took care to instruct their children at their homes in virtue, letters and man

ners, while schools were getting ready to receive them.

The precautions of their wise forecast proved adequate to the occasion in an admirable degree. It would be unsafe to argue from any documents of the time, or other evidence, that the forty years which followed the immigration of Winthrop's company witnessed any sensible degeneracy under the unpropitious influence of the new circumstances of life. At no earlier time was government in New England more quietly or prosperously administered than in the first twenty years that followed the restoration of King Charles. And as the laws of that period are the monument of a capacity for prudent legislation, so even in the luxury of learning there was no token of decline. The books of Mitchell, Oakes, and many others, early pupils of Harvard College, are in our hands; and we find them not unworthy to be compared, for rich and scholarly rhetoric, with the writings of Chauncy, who came from a professor's stall at Cambridge, or of Cotton, the light of the first Protestant foundation at the same University. The Puritan dean of Christ Church, the universally learned Owen, felt such assurance of finding congenial society in New England, that it was only an accident which defeated his purpose of emigrating. Ann Bradstreet received her early education in England; but the volume of her poems, published when she was twenty-two years old, may be taken as some indication of the tastes and accomplishments culti-

vated by young women of the best New England families. Nor should it be forgotten that the novel circumstances which had occurred peculiarly favored the diffusion of knowledge and civility from the highest through the inferior social ranks. The common necessities and mutual dependence which presented themselves in a new settlement brought the different orders of society into a new acquaintance with each other, of which the better influence could scarcely be impaired by the influence proceeding from the less profitable quarter. Fruitful elements of improvement were imparted to the mass of the community, when husbandmen, artisans, and laborers became, under the new conditions of their life, the associates of courtiers and scholars. At the period to which these *memoranda* relate, Massachusetts, in the opinion of a well-informed historian who wrote a century later, "made a greater figure than it ever did at any other time." "A spirit of industry and economy prevailed throughout the colony," and "some of the Magistrates and principal merchants grew very rich." If the habits of life inculcated by law and religion were ascetic, they were at all events stern and manly. If the disesteem of frivolous pursuits was carried to extravagance, and the spirit of society was not genial, enervating vices were rebuked, and a high and strict standard of public morality was maintained.

Events which occurred in the parent country not long after the departure from New England

of the Royal Commissioners could not but have made the colonists congratulate themselves on their enjoyment of a breathing-time of freedom from foreign interference. The Parliament that had banished Lord Clarendon was not behind that minister himself in stubborn devotion to the Church; and its proceedings against English Non-conformists were ominous of evil to all Dissenters whom its strong arm might reach. The *Cabal* ministry, which succeeded the great Chancellor, was made up of elements too heterogenous to pursue a consistent policy of intolerance; but its capricious humors gave abundant occasion for anxiety. The King's brother, heir presumptive to the crown, announced himself a Roman Catholic. The truth that the King sympathized with him was already strongly suspected.

The instructive spectacle of the rivalry between encroaching popery in the palace and intolerant episcopacy in Parliament, must have made the rulers of Massachusetts felicitate themselves afresh on the successful resistance they had offered to the emissaries of the court; since, had that resistance been overborne, the interest of New England in what was passing in the parent country would have been that of alarm, while, as things stood, it was little more than the interest of curiosity as to the event, and sympathy with those whom Romanist and Churchman alike intended to oppress.

If they were also informed of what was passing at the time in Scotland, they saw still more can-

for religious dissenters to dread the interference of British power. By a royal decree, registered by an affrighted Scottish parliament, episcopacy had been reëstablished in King Charles's northern realm in the second year after his restoration. Cruel measures were taken for the maintenance of that establishment so hated by the great body of the people. When the Presbyterians had been driven from the churches, it was declared treasonable for them to hold meetings in the fields. All persons present at such meetings were bound to inform against their companions. Offenders were hunted by troops of horse, and confession was extorted by torture.

1662.

The oppressions which afflicted Presbyterian Scotland, there was no reason to doubt would be visited equally upon Congregational New England, should this country come equally within the power of the sovereign and of his bigoted or self-seeking courtiers. The Dissenters of New England, unless false to their convictions, must have proved no less contumacious than the Dissenters of his northern kingdom. Had a creature of the court been made their Governor, with a sufficient military force at his back, they could not reasonably flatter themselves with exemption from the sword and thumbscrew of which the Duke of Lauderdale, the King's Commissioner, made so free use in Scotland.

The New England colonies, however, remained undisturbed by the home government for more than ten years after the departure of Lord Clarendon's

Commissioners, though the reorganization from time to time of the tribunal which had been instituted for conducting the colonial business of the empire showed that this department of administration was not wholly overlooked. After Lord Clarendon's fall, the Council for Foreign Plantations, hitherto a numerous body, was made to consist of but ten members, two of whom were the Earl of Montague, formerly the Parliament's admiral, and Lord Gorges, a relative of the claimant of Maine. After a few months, an addition was made of six very eminent persons, among whom were the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, the King's cousin. In the next year, a different arrangement was made. The Council for Trade and the Council for Plantations were consolidated into a single board, with the Earl of Shaftesbury at its head. After the dissolution of the *Cabal* ministry, this council too was dissolved, and, by a return to the ancient practice, the business of the colonies was intrusted to a committee of the Privy Council. That indecision of the court which was both indicated and necessitated by these fluctuations, prolonged the respite which was so profitable to the people of New England.

1670. July 30.

1671. April 4.

1672. Sept. 16.

1674. Dec. 21.

1675. March 12.

Under the auspices of the *Cabal* ministry, however, one step was taken, which was destined to affect materially the position of the colonies. An act was passed, imposing customs to be levied in the foreign dependencies of Great Britain

1673.

and to be collected by colonial revenue officers. For various enumerated commodities carried from the plantations, unless a sufficient bond were given to land them in England, duties were to be paid at the place of exportation, to collectors appointed in England by the Commissioners of the Customs, under the authority of the Lords of the Treasury. We shall have occasion to see how fruitful of mischief to New England this legislation proved.

When the confederacy of New England was dissolved by the incorporation of New Haven into Connecticut, an attempt to renew it for the three existing governments had little spirit and little effect. By her conduct in the prosecution of that measure, Connecticut had given serious offence to the two older colonies. That desire to unite in preparation for resistance to encroachment from England which had been a main cause of the original confederation, was cooled by recent occurrences. All the colonies had now formally acknowledged the King, and the different temper in which this had been done in Connecticut and in Massachusetts forbade the expectation that for the present they could act together with zeal in respect to comprehensive questions of politics. The great favors which Connecticut had received from the King seemed to have awakened in her a loyal affection, while the attitude of Massachusetts towards the parent country had never been more than now one of jealousy and apprehension, if it should not rather be said that she regarded the existing English gov

ernment with a fixed hostility, which considerations of prudence alone caused her to abstain from expressing.

Still there existed a strong mutual good-will among the colonies, and a corresponding disposition tc restore the old union as far as altered circumstances might allow. When, agreeably to the arrangement which had been made at the time of the dissolution of the government of New Haven, Commissioners for the three colonies came together at Hartford, after the expiration of three years, it appeared that the representatives of Plymouth and Massachusetts brought authority only to "act about the Indian affairs of the corporation, and to agitate and treat of any propositions that should be made for the renewing or entering into a new confederation." The result of the consultations which should be held on this matter they were to report to their respective governments. 1667. Sept. 5.

Plymouth had not been zealous for a new confederation. Her views of the scheme had been expressed in a letter from Governor Prince to the General Court of Massachusetts. The Plymouth people complained that the old agreement had been violated by the conduct of Connecticut in respect to New Haven. They did not think it prudent that four Commissioners, instead of six, the number requisite under the old system to determine a vote, should be invested with the authority of the whole body; and on the other hand they feared that the decision of a question by four votes would not

prove to be controlling, when experience had shown that the decree of a larger number was liable to be disregarded. Of course, this last suggestion referred to the refusal of Massachusetts to be bound by that action of the Commissioners which summoned her to engage in a war with the Dutch and Indians.

It appears, however, that Plymouth, on reflection, had become well disposed to a new confederation, and that the chief reluctance or indifference to that measure was on the part of Connecticut. Some amendments of the former system were proposed, part of them being apparently designed to meet the wishes of that colony; but, without taking any formal steps towards a new alliance, the Commissioners separated after transacting some business of the Society for Propagating the Gospel.

As the end of another triennial term approached, the question respecting a reformed confederacy was revived. Commissioners appointed by the several colonies for the special purpose met in Boston, and agreed upon a frame of Articles for a new compact. Except what was necessary to accommodate it to the diminished number of the contracting parties, there was no considerable departure, even so much as in phraseology, from the old system of confederation. In the preamble, the ancient reference to "those sad distractions in England" was now omitted. In the second Article that war-making power of the Confederacy, which had proved such a root of bitterness, was restricted

1670. June 2.

by a provision that the "determination of an offensive war, properly so called, so as to engage the colonies therein, should be in the several General Courts." Meetings of Commissioners were to be held only once in three years, one meeting in five to be at Plymouth, two at Boston, and two at Hartford.

When this amended plan was presented to the General Courts of the three colonies, Connecticut adopted it without exception, nor does any qualification of it appear to have been desired by Plymouth. Massachusetts was not entirely satisfied. When her General Court took the scheme into consideration, they proposed two material emendations. By the seventh Article the commissioners were authorized to "endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature:" the Court preferred to reduce this power to that of "consulting of and proposing to the several General Courts, to be by them allowed and established, such orders in general cases." As to supplies of men and money for war, the ninth Article retained the old rule of a levy on the several colonies according to the number of their men of military age: the Court objected to this rule, and desired that it might be referred to future conference.

Oct. 13.

Oct. 11.

Connecticut insisted on the ancient rule for military supplies, nor can it be supposed that a departure from it would have been more acceptable to Plymouth. At length, at a meeting held at Bos

ton of representatives from the three colonies, the point was adjusted by an agreement that thenceforward, for fifteen years, troops and money for any war should be contributed in the proportion of a hundred for Massachusetts to sixty for Connecticut, and thirty for Plymouth. The agreement having been solemnly ratified at Plymouth by Commissioners authorized by all the colonies for that purpose, the old Confederacy was faintly reproduced. The Commissioners proceeded to hold one of the prescribed triennial meetings. But it had none of the importance of the meetings of earlier times. Little was done except to audit an account of money disbursed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, to receive reports from the society's missionaries, and to despatch a letter to the Mohegan Uncas, "to encourage him to attend on the ministry."

1672. Sept. 5.

A year after this, the Commissioners held a special meeting at Hartford, being summoned by the Magistrates of Connecticut, in their alarm on account of the recent capture of New York by the Dutch. In King Charles's second war with the United Provinces, Cornelius Evertsen and Jacob Binkes, in command of twelve Dutch armed vessels, appeared before New York, and landed eight hundred men. Lovelace, who had succeeded Colonel Nicolls as Governor for the Duke of York, was absent at New Haven. The garrison at New York was in no condition for resistance; and, after a short and almost

1673. Aug. 21.

July 30.

bloodless conflict, the place was entered by the enemy. The reconquest of Fort Albany, and of most of the territory comprehended within New Netherland, immediately followed.

The Magistrates of Connecticut wrote to the Dutch commanders to ask information respecting their further designs. An unsatisfactory reply increased their apprehensions, and prompted them to seek assurances of support from their allies. At the meeting which was accordingly convoked, the Commissioners declared that they should "at all times account the damage or spoil that should be done to any one member of the confederate jurisdiction as done to the whole," and resolved to recommend to their several governments "that sufficient orders be given, and all due and effectual care be forthwith taken, for provision of all manner of ammunition, men, and means of defence." It might not be unreasonable to surmise that Connecticut, on this occasion, was showing a solicitude for the honor of the King and his brother's interest, to which the feeling in the other colonies did not warmly respond. Aug. 27.

CHAPTER II.

TRANSACTIONS OF TEN YEARS.

The reader remembers, that, in the later part of the period treated in the Second Book of this history, the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were agitated by a controversy respecting the proper subjects of baptism. New Haven had taken no part in measures for its adjustment. Under the rigid institutions of that colony, the innovation which found favor elsewhere had no considerable advocates.

John Davenport, pastor of the First Church in New Haven, was the chief framer of the ecclesiastical system which was there maintained. He had also, from the beginning, been second to none among the citizens of the colony in attachment to its integrity and independence. Both as a patriot and as a sectary, he was distressed by its annexation to Connecticut, as by the disappointment of hopes and plans cherished above all others through thirty years of thoughtful and busy life. New Haven, almost his creation, the object, so long, of his solicitude, his devotion, his pride, was no longer attractive to him. It was rather the monument of a great defeat and sorrow.

In the dispute about baptism, the First Church in Boston, under the lead of Wilson and Norton, its Pastor and Teacher, had taken part with the reformers. But Norton died before the catastrophe of New Haven, and his aged colleague survived him only four years. The question as to a successor to the vacant place was one of unsurpassed interest to all the churches. 1667. Aug. 7.

Owen, now dismissed from his offices of Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was invited to emigrate, and become Wilson's successor; and he seriously entertained the proposal. But, in consideration of the probability that he might be useful in the crisis which was then passing in his own country, he determined to remain there. The man who, for personal qualities and public services, stood preëminent in New England, was the dissatisfied Pastor of New Haven. The influence of his reputation proved sufficient to overcome the objection of his being the champion of opinions opposite to those entertained by a majority of the widowed church; and he was invited to remove, and assume the highest clerical position in the chief colony. When nearly seventy years of age, he was installed in Boston, and entered on a new career. 1668. Dec. 9.

A large minority, however, of the church could not be won by their respect for his character to acquiesce in the views entertained by him respecting a question which, though religious in its first aspect, was not without an important political re-

iation. Twenty-nine men, several of whom were persons of consequence, resolved to secede, and set up another congregation. The scheme had to encounter opposition, in which the Governor, who fully sympathized with Davenport, was active. The discontented party applied to the First Church for a dismission, which was refused. They then convoked an ecclesiastical council, which advised them to proceed, recognized them as a distinct church, and censured the First Church for opposing their project. The controversy which had occupied the Synod was revived with new warmth, exciting afresh the whole colony. The Governor as-

1669. July 6. sembled the Magistrates, and informed them that he "feared a sudden tumult." The Magistrates, however, — a majority of whom were of the opposite inclining, — saw no occasion to

1670. Feb. 16. interfere; and the seceders went on to install a minister of the Third Church of Boston. Till within a week of this time, no other town of New England had more than one church.

The General Court, which presently after came together, considered these movements as entitled

May. to its notice. The House of Deputies, which proved to have a majority of *Anti-Synodists*, raised a committee to inquire respecting prevalent sins. The committee reported that there had been "declension from the primitive foundation work; innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice; an invasion of the rights, liberties, and privileges of churches;" and they went on to refer

in terms of censure, to the late proceedings in Boston. But it seems that the committee did not in this matter represent the sense of the colony. At the next annual Court for Elections, fifteen ministers presented an elaborate memorial, complaining of the recent action of the Deputies. The tribunal now addressed by the petitioners was constituted very differently from that which had rebuked them. Of fifty Deputies in the new House, only twenty were the same as had served in the last year. There can be no doubt that what occasioned this revolution was the judgment of the majority of the towns on the pending religious controversy. The question was reconsidered, with a result favorable to the memorialists. "The Court declared that they knew no just cause of those scandalizing reflections against Magistrates, elders, and churches, either in reference to the new church of Boston, or otherwise."

1671. May 31

The aged Davenport was spared the distress which this decision would have cost him. He died in little more than a year after his removal to Boston. The controversy which had so interested him was not at an end; but the tendencies of the time were adverse to the reinstitution of the ancient strictness of church order. The novelty sanctioned by the Synod found its chief opponents among the more conservative class of laymen. Its advocates among the clergy were from the first a majority, which went on increasing from generation to generation; and the *Half-way Covenant*, as

it was opprobriously called, came to be approved by the general practice of the congregational churches of New England.

This protracted discussion of questions respecting that rite which in other aspects engaged the special attention of the Baptists had naturally kept alive the zeal of that sect, and not improbably had increased their number. At the height of the alarm caused by the visit of the Royal Commissioners, when it might seem that local disaffection was fraught with peculiar danger, five persons of

1665. Oct. 11. that profession had been disfranchised for receiving to their communion persons who had been excommunicated by other churches, and a law had been passed by force of which two others were afterwards put in prison. Soon after this, the congregation obtained a place for its meetings on Noddle's Island, in Boston harbor. They did not here escape the notice of the Magistrates, who, "being willing by all Christian candor to endeavor the reducing of the said persons from the error of

1668. March 7. their way," voted to offer to the backsliders "an opportunity of a full and free debate," and appointed six ministers to conduct it on their part.

It was held in the meeting-house of the First

April 14, 15. Church of Boston, the Baptist champions being assisted by three brethren who came to them from Newport. It lasted two days, and came to nothing. The dissentients were not reclaimed, and the General Court, which soon met

proceeded to consult upon their case. Thomas Gold, William Turner, and John Farnum were sentenced to banishment from the colony, and declared liable to imprisonment in case they should return. Besides strong remonstrances from eminent men on the spot, thirteen English ministers — among whom were persons so eminent as Goodwin, Owen, and Nye — wrote to the Governor, urging him, partly on account of the effect on their own position at home, to desist from this intolerant course of proceeding. The interference of the citizens was resented by the imposition of a fine upon two persons who had been active in circulating the remonstrance. But either the Magistrates did not care to follow up the business any further than was thought necessary to assert the authority of the government, or they observed the growth of a public sentiment of toleration which it would not be wise to oppose. For the sentence of banishment remained unexecuted, and the Baptists continued to maintain their worship on Noddle's Island. Five years had scarcely passed after that decree when one of them was able to write: "The church of the baptized do peaceably enjoy their liberty;" and they used their liberty in transferring their weekly worship to a house which they hired for the purpose within the town. The death of the severe Bellingham, which took place while, in his eighty-second year, he was occupying the chief magistracy for the ninth time in succession,

May 27.

1669. March 25.

1674. Jan. 9.

1672. Dec. 12.

afforded them a prospect of more repose in future.

1673. May 7 Leverett, who succeeded him, was of a less impulsive nature, and his mind had been liberalized by larger commerce with the world.

The government had another subject of anxiety. There was trouble in the College. It had constantly won on the public respect during the seventeen years of the Presidency of Chauncy, who succeeded Dunster; and, in the last of these years, the original edifice being insufficient in size, and falling into decay, a liberal private contribution had been made for the erection of another. But, when the

1672. Feb. 19. President died, the choice of his successor led to dissensions. Leonard Hoar, an Englishman by birth, had been educated at Harvard College under the presidency of Dunster, and had then returned to his native country, where he married a daughter of Lord Lisle. At college he had been a member of the class next after that of Mr. John Collins, who, now a minister of London, was intrusted there with the affairs of the colony. Without delay, after hearing of Chauncy's death,

May 10. Hoar embarked for Boston, fortified by a letter from Collins to the Governor, recommending him for the vacant office. Three months

Feb. 5. earlier, in anticipation of Chauncy's death, John Owen and twelve other eminent English ministers had written to Massachusetts to the same effect.

The General Court shared, or caught, the en-

thusiasm of their English friends. They voted to raise the President's annual allowance from a hundred to a hundred and fifty pounds, Oct. 8 provided that Hoar should be placed in the office; and they offered to the College a new charter (which, however, did not take effect) embracing some extension of its privileges. Hoar was made President, and those who expressed their minds at all joined in vociferous applause.

But the fairest prospects are sometimes the quickest to fade. What was the matter with President Hoar, the present age does not know. The age immediately succeeding his own did not know how to describe it. But his administration proved a failure. The youth at the College were unruly. Some of its governors were disaffected. A year had scarcely passed when from "some of the honored Overseers" the General Court 1673. Oct. 15. "received a narrative of uncomfortable debates and motions," so serious as to cause the Court to threaten an expression of "their due resentment as to the obstructors." At the end of another year, "the Court, by good information, understood, that, notwithstanding all former endeavors, the College yet remained in a languishing and decaying condition;" and, to the end of taking "further effectual course, if possible, for the revival of that great work and its future flourishing and establishment," they appointed a day to hear the representations of a numerous body of persons, then and formerly connected with the College. 1674 Oct. 7. The

hearing was had. "The President, upon his own voluntary motion, in consideration of the paucity of scholars, did freely lay down fifty pounds of his salary;" and the Court resolved that if, at its next meeting, "the College were found in the same languishing condition, the President was concluded to be dismissed without further hearing of the case." Of course, if there remained a possibility of restoring subordination, this vote put an end to it. Before the Court met again, the President resigned his office. The mortification was too much for him. He fell into a decline, and died at Boston before the end of the year.

1675. March 15.

Nov. 28.

The capture of New York by the Dutch had some immediate consequences for Massachusetts. Dutch cruisers appeared in Long Island Sound, and it was feared might extend their voyages further east. The fortifications at Boston, Charlestown, Salem, and Portsmouth were repaired, and the Court ordered that "a vessel or two, with about one hundred men, armed and equipped as a ship or ships of war, be immediately set out to repress the insolence of the Dutch." Possibly the government of Massachusetts supposed that the loss of New York would incline the Duke to abandon the rest of his American property. Immediately after that event they proceeded to extend their eastern border so as to enclose territory belonging to his province of Cornwall, eastward of the River Kennebec. A new

1673. Dec. 10.

1674. March 11.

survey had shown that the charter line running on a line of latitude three miles north of every part of the River Merrimack would include the southern part of the country beyond the Piscataqua, as far east as to the outlet of Penobscot Bay. The General Court accordingly, in the spring after the capture of New York, proceeded to incorporate this country into Massachusetts, and presently appointed commissioners to organize it as the County of Devonshire. May 27. Oct 7.

In the other colonies of New England, as in Massachusetts, the tranquil course of events during the ten years next following the visit of the Royal Commissioners presents little matter for the notice of history. In Plymouth, Thomas Prince was continued at the head of the government, till, having reached the seventy-third year of his age, he died, and was succeeded by Josiah Winslow, son of the third Governor. Winslow was a man of more facile temper than his predecessor. By his influence, in the first year after his accession, James Cudworth, whose tenderness for the Quakers had cost him his high place in the public regard, was reinstated in the Magistracy. Prince, though unlearned, had an enlightened sense of the worth of knowledge; and by his liberal zeal a measure was advanced, which, however, was not quite brought to a conclusion before his death. The Court voted that a public school, the earliest in the colony, should be set up in the town of Plymouth, and that the 1673. April 8. 1674. May. 1673. June.

revenue from the "Cape Fishery" should be appropriated to its support.

The relations between Governor Prince and the Royal Commissioners had been friendly. On the one hand, his colony desired, as far as might be, to stand well at the English court, in order to the accomplishment of its hope of obtaining a charter; on the other hand, it reasonably distrusted its capacity to maintain itself against the consequences of royal displeasure. It suited the Commissioners to encourage this pliant temper, because it was a rebuke to the contumacy of Massachusetts. They cultivated a good understanding with Plymouth by their action in respect to the boundary on the side of Rhode Island. They determined that Plymouth colony extended to the west as far as the waters of Narragansett Bay.

The government which in Rhode Island had been set up under the royal charter was in its scheme a great advance on the previous organizations in that quarter. But the experience scarcely fulfilled the promise. As things stood, there was little ambition for office, and still less disposition to be ruled. In a community composed of citizens with minds so excursive, so variously inclined, and so stubborn each in his own way, the function of governing could scarcely be attractive. After the novelty was over Deputies and even Magistrates did not care to come to the place of meeting. Others were chosen in their place, but they, too, absented themselves. Rewards and penalties were tried, but with no

satisfactory success. Hitherto a government in Rhode Island seemed to be impossible.

Nor in a community so constituted could occasions of discord fail to be constantly arising. One such occasion grew out of John Clarke's agency in England. The colony owed him three or four hundred pounds. To satisfy this debt and some others, a tax was levied of six hundred pounds. Portsmouth, Providence, and Warwick were dissatisfied with the assessments made upon them, and Warwick sent an angry remonstrance. Williams interposed with a letter to that town, exhorting it to more becoming behavior. It was read to the Warwick trainband, who voted that it was "a pernicious letter, tending to stir up strife." The Assistants repeated their demand for payment; when the townsmen of Warwick voted the missive to be "full of uncivil language, as if it had been indicted in hell," and ordered "that the clerk put it on file, where impertinent papers should be kept for the future, to the end that those persons who had not learned in the school of good manners how to speak to men in the language of sobriety, if they were sought for, might there be found." This was the beginning of what has been known in Rhode Island as *the impertinent file*.

1664. Oct.

1666. March 26.

1669. March 25.

One of a committee of three persons charged with the collection of the tax of six hundred pounds was William Harris, who had been one of Williams's original companions when he came from

Salem, but had afterwards a violent quarrel with him. Harris and Arthur Fenner were Magistrates of Providence, and they too disagreed. Fenner had
1667. July 2. interest with the General Court to get his rival "discharged from the office of an Assistant for the future." The next year Harris was
1668. May 6. restored, and replaced upon the committee to gather the tax. But Williams followed
1672. Feb. 24. him up, and obtained a warrant for his arrest and imprisonment under a charge of treasonable correspondence with Connecticut. Meanwhile, the tax remained unpaid. The Court was angry, and repeatedly threatened the defaulters with heavy penalties. But the penalties could not be executed, and the money did not come.

Quakers had become numerous in Rhode Island. Persons so considerable as Coddington and Easton had enrolled themselves with the sect. Its weight in the colony may be fairly inferred from the elections. In the ten years after the visit of Lord Clarendon's Commissioners, Easton served six times as Deputy-Governor, and twice as Governor, while towards the end of the same period Coddington held the first office for two terms, and the second
1672. for one. In the year of Easton's first election to be Governor, nearly the whole administration was changed, and several of the persons who had been chosen, and who found themselves in a minority in the government, refused to serve, probably on account of their repugnance to Quaker ascendency. George Fox, recovering from

an illness of some months in England, found that "it was upon him from the Lord to visit the plantations in America." He visited no New England plantation except Rhode Island. There, he writes, he rendered "very good service," and "truth had good reception," there being "no priests in the island, and no restriction to any particular way of worship." He went up to Providence, where Roger Williams also was at the time. The two champions did not meet. But no sooner had Fox returned to Newport, than Williams sent him a challenge to a public discussion of his system. The discussion did not take place. Fox said that the challenge was delayed till Williams knew that it could not reach him in time to be accepted. Williams maintained that Fox knew it was on the way, and "slyly departed" from Newport to avoid the necessity of either accepting or declining it. Williams rowed himself down the bay to Newport, to hold a dispute with three of Fox's "journeymen and chaplains." It lasted three or four days. Both parties claimed the victory, and each party published its report of the arguments. The books survive to illustrate the rare talent for obloquy possessed by the Quakers, and by their present antagonist in a degree not surpassed by the most accomplished among themselves.

May 30.

Aug. 8.

The reader remembers, that, according as the royal charters given respectively to Connecticut and to Rhode Island should be interpreted, the country between Narragansett Bay and Paucatuck River

belonged to the one or the other of those colonies. The King's Province, established by the Royal Commissioners, included the whole of the Narragansett country, making the Paucatuck River the eastern boundary of Connecticut, and leaving to Rhode Island little or nothing except the towns of Newport, Portsmouth, and Providence. The Commissioners had scarcely departed, when, in disregard of their decree, the quarrel between the two colonies broke out anew, and for years it dragged its slow length along. Its incidents were numerous, but they had little variety, and have little interest for readers at the present day. If Connecticut was the more powerful of the competitors, the Rhode Islanders had an advantage in the greater nearness of the debatable ground to their peopled towns; and the action of Connecticut was embarrassed by the scruples of her upright but not sufficiently resolute Governor, who declared himself precluded by his arrangement in England with Clarke from actively sustaining the pretension of his colony to jurisdiction on the east side of the Paucatuck. Commissioners were appointed to treat. They met, argued, quarrelled, and went their way. Rhode Island arrested alleged trespassers from Connecticut. Connecticut retaliated with the like process. Negotiation was again fruitlessly attempted, and again each party took its vindication into its own hands. Other attempts at agreement followed, other failures, and other hostilities; till, as will presently be seen, more absorbing interests suspended the dispute.

In Connecticut, Winthrop, without opposition, was continued from year to year at the head of the government. Mason, Deputy-Governor during ten successive years, withdrew from that place by reason of advancing age, and was succeeded in it by Leete, formerly Governor of New Haven, who was also continued in the office by repeated elections. In Connecticut, as in Massachusetts, the electors were remarkably constant in the confidence reposed by them in the incumbents of the highest trusts; but in the former colony the change, from year to year, of Deputies from the towns was rather the rule than the exception. 1669.

The capture of New York by the Dutch fleet was an event of special interest to Connecticut. Those towns on Long Island which were near to the city submitted quietly to the invaders; but the plantations at the eastern end of the island, which had formerly belonged to Connecticut, now refused to surrender themselves, and desired to be annexed to that colony. Some hostilities followed, on an humble scale. Massachusetts, after some hesitation, took part in them, so far as to despatch two armed vessels, besides a land force of five hundred and fifty foot-soldiers and a hundred and ten horse, under the command of Major-General Denison, "to repress the insolence of the Dutch in the Sound." The Dutch governor sent a vessel to the eastern end of Long Island to claim the submission of the settlements. Near Southhold, the party which bore the summons were 1673.

met by a warning not to "come with that thing [the Prince of Orange's flag] within range of shot of the village." "Clearly perceiving," so they wrote, "that they should be unable to effect anything," they went back to New York. Four vessels presently came on the same errand The English at Southhold had meantime been reinforced. The Dutch commander threatened to exterminate them "with fire and sword," but got an answer of defiance. A few shots were exchanged between the vessels and the town, without injury on either side; and the squadron "presently weighed and set sail." A repetition of the attempt continued to be feared, but none took place. Probably the result of another attack was regarded as uncertain; the Dutch commander could not afford to risk many men; the object was not of considerable importance; and for some reason, as was said, there was "a great damp, at present, upon most of the spirits of the enemy at New York."

Nov. 7.

1674. Feb.

The further prosecution of these obscure hostilities was soon interrupted by the arrival of intelligence of a pacification between the parent countries. One article in the treaty of peace stipulated the mutual restitution of conquered places. At New York it occasioned a paroxysm of "distracted rage and passion." The phlegmatic burghers so far forsook their usual habits as to threaten to "fire the town, pluck down the fortifications, and tear out the governor's throat." They "belched forth

May 7.

their curses and execrations against the Prince of Orange and States of Holland." They proposed to "keep up fighting so long as they could stand on one foot, and fight with one hand." The sympathizing governor imprisoned the bearer of the news in "the dungeon in the fort, with warning to fit and prepare himself for death, for in two days he should die;" and in a more comprehensive indulgence of his displeasure he proceeded to confiscate all the goods and effects of English colonists found within his jurisdiction, "together with the outstanding debts remaining" due to them. May 12

Events, however, proceeded in much the same current as if the Dutchmen at the mouth of the Hudson had been less irascible. Orders came from their High Mightinesses "for the evacuation of the forts, and the restitution of that country to the order of the King of Great Britain." And in due time an English squadron entered the harbor of New York, conveying Major Edmund Andros, who proceeded to take possession of the province anew, as Lieutenant of the Duke of York. July 7. Nov. 1. Nov. 10.

Connecticut was relieved in one way, but in another she was endangered and annoyed anew. The Duke, on the recovery of his province from the Dutch, had obtained from his brother a new patent, which established the boundaries as originally defined. Accordingly, Andros's commission gave him jurisdiction over the country June 29.

extending "from the west side of Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay." He sent copies of his master's patent and of his commission to the General Court of Connecticut, and formally demanded the surrender of so much of the property, alleged to belong to the Duke, as now was held under their government

1675. May 1.

They replied, that the question of their western boundary had been authoritatively settled ten years before, and that they had "no power to dispose of any of his Majesty's plantations or subjects in any other way than was appointed by his sacred Majesty in his gracious charter."

May 17.

Other letters were interchanged, but without practical effect; when, intelligence having reached Connecticut of a rising of the Indians beyond her eastern border, a messenger was sent to communicate it to Andros. It was turned by him to an unexpected use. He replied that he was "very much troubled" by it, and that, accompanied by a force that would enable him "to take such resolutions as might be fit for him upon this extraordinary occasion," he "intended, God willing, to set out this evening, and to make the best of his way to Connecticut River, his Royal Highness's bounds there."

June. July 1.

July 4.

It behooved the government of Connecticut to attend to his reception at the mouth of the river In all haste the Magistrates sent Captain Bull, o-

Hartford, with a hundred men, to occupy the fort at Saybrook. The General Court, coming together, approved this proceeding, and unanimously adopted a resolve, protesting against July 9. "Major Andros's challenge and attempts to surprise the main fort of the colony," "as also against all his aiders and abettors, as disturbers of the public peace of his Majesty's good subjects;" and engaging themselves to "use their utmost power and endeavor (expecting therein the assistance of Almighty God) to defend the good people of the colony from the said Major Andros's attempts."

Andros was as good as his word. Four days after announcing his purpose, he arrived at the mouth of the river with two small vessels. Thence he wrote to the Magistrates of Hartford, informing them, that, finding no occasion for July 8. his intervention in respect to the Indians, he desired their "direct and effectual answer" to his former demand, and that he should wait for it "in discharge of his duty accordingly." Bull had reached Saybrook a few hours before him, and was in the fort. He was instructed to inform Major Andros that the force from New York might act advantageously against the Indians at the head of Narragansett Bay. He was to allow Andros's people to land for refreshment, but they were to come unarmed, and to make their visit short. He was "to keep the King's colors standing, under his Majesty's Lieutenant, the Governor of Connecticut," and to permit the raising of no others. He

was "to avoid striking the first blow; but, if they began, he was to defend himself, and do his best to secure his Majesty's interest and the peace of the whole colony."

In reply to Andros's letter, the General Court of Connecticut sent another exposition of their rights and their purpose. At an early hour of the day after this reached him, he landed with a party, and, at his request, was met on the river's bank by the officers of the garrison. "In his Majesty's name" he "commanded his Majesty's charter [the Duke's patent] to be read, and after that his Highness's commission, which, notwithstanding that they were required in his Majesty's name to forbear, was done." Andros then said that he should proceed no further, and should set sail immediately, unless he was desired to stay. The officers told him that they "had no order to desire him to stay, but must now read something else; and forthwith the protest was read in Major Andros's and his gentlemen's presence. He was pleased to speak of it as a slander, and so an ill requital for his kindness, and by-and-by desired a copy, which the officers declined to give; but yet parted peaceably. His Honor was guarded with the town soldiers to the water-side, went on board, and presently fell down below the fort, with salutes on both sides." The Magistrates approved on the whole the course that had been taken, though they would have preferred that it should be less forbearing. "We wish," they wrote, "he [Andros] had

July 10.

July 13.

been interrupted in doing the least thing under pretence of his having anything to do to use his Majesty's name in commanding there so usurpingly, which might have been done by shouts, or sound of drum, etc., without violence."

CHAPTER III.

PHILIP'S WAR

The alarm in Connecticut, which had furnished to Governor Andros a pretext for his undesired visit to Saybrook, was not causeless. The Indians had begun a war which proved most costly and afflicting to the colonists.

The course of conduct pursued by the colonists towards the natives had all along been praiseworthy in a singular degree. The reader is aware how erroneous it would be to represent the lands of Plymouth and Massachusetts as being already occupied when the English arrived. The strangers came and found a vacant domain, on which, without intrusion on any predecessors, they built and planted. When they wanted an enlargement of their borders, they obtained it, if at all, by amicable agreement with any who had earlier possession. If the prices which were paid seem small to us, they were all that the property parted with was worth to the seller. And while all that he yielded was yielded with his free consent for an equivalent that satisfied him, he was honestly and effectively protected in the possession of all that he was disposed to keep. No doubt, he was subject to injury

from lawless people. He might be occasionally cheated and otherwise ill used, as incapable and unlucky persons are, more or less, in all times, and in all conditions of society. But the shield of law was held over him with assiduous solicitude, and whoever could be detected in wronging him was made to feel that he had a watchful guardian severe in measures of redress.

It may reasonably be believed that time would have developed inconsistent interests between the natives and the strangers, if through successive generations they had multiplied largely in each other's neighborhood. But as yet the new state of things was highly advantageous to the children of the soil. They were benefited on a vast scale, in respect to the accommodations of their daily life, even while they adhered to their ancient manners and character, remaining in ignorance of the arts of civilization and of the revelations of Christianity. Should they continue to be brutal savages, still they lost nothing, but, on the contrary, gained much, by the neighborhood of industrious and orderly persons of a different race, who had commodities to sell which it was for their advantage to buy; who were glad to buy what they had in plenty, without knowing how to use; who practised, and were inclined freely to impart, an infinity of methods unknown to them of obtaining security, comfort, and enjoyment.

Besides such benefits derived in the necessary course of things by the native from the English settlers, they esteemed it to be their duty to en-

deavor to share with him what to themselves were the priceless blessings of civilization and Christianity. The reader of these volumes is aware of the diligence and earnestness with which such endeavors were made. Their apparent success, whether really greater or less within the line to which they extended, did not affect the mass of the native population. The great southern tribes — the Pokanokets (or Wampanoags), the Nyantics, the Narragansetts, the Mohegans (though Uncas, their chief, was always an ally of the English) — resolutely refused to listen to the missionaries. A few converts were made among the poor remnant of the conquered race of Pequots. But the scenes of prosperous attempts at proselytism were chiefly three, — Martha's Vineyard, Cape Cod, and the country around Boston, within forty miles of that town.

1674. The number of "praying Indians" in New England, when at the largest, was reckoned to be about four thousand, of whom eleven hundred belonged to Eliot's congregations in Massachusetts, six or seven hundred to Plymouth, fifteen hundred to Martha's Vineyard and the neighboring island of Chappequiddick, and three hundred to Nantucket. In Massachusetts there were two churches of Indians, one at Natick, the other at Hassanamisitt (Grafton); the former numbering no fewer than fifty communicants. At Martha's Vineyard there were two churches, and one at Chappequiddick. The congregations had native teachers, who

besides being schoolmasters for the children during the week, led the public devotions on the Lord's day when no English minister was present. Of the Plymouth Indians, their minister reported that one hundred and forty-two could read their own language, seventy-two could write it, and nine could read English.

While it seemed that such operations tended within their sphere to make closer the friendly relations between the natives and the English, more than half a century had passed since the settlement of Plymouth, and nearly forty years since the end of the only war that had taken place between the strangers and any native tribe. There had been alarms, threats, negotiations, and military demonstrations; and a watchful eye had all along been kept upon the Indians of the region between Connecticut River and Narragansett Bay. But the quarrels that arose from time to time had at some rate been pacified, and the peace had been preserved. It is not probable that the number of the natives had increased since the arrival of the English.

Massasoit, sachem of the numerous tribe of Pokanokets, always maintained faithfully the treaty which he had made with the colonists of Plymouth a few months after their arrival; and, on the other hand, he trusted to their alliance for defence against the Narragansetts, his neighbors on the other side of his country.

Nearly forty years after that treaty, Massasoit, dying at an advanced age, was succeeded by his

sons, Wamsutta and Metacom, or Metacomet, who having asked the Plymouth people for better names, received from them the names respectively of *Alexander* and *Philip*. Alexander's reign was short. Falling under some suspicion of plotting with the Narragansetts, he was summoned to Plymouth, where he cleared himself of the charge. At Major Winslow's house at Marshfield he was taken with a fever. Being impatient to go home, he was conveyed thither carefully by water, but died within a few days.

1660.

1662.

His brother and successor never had the confidence of his English neighbors. Repeatedly, through twelve successive years, there were suspicions, complaints, explanations, and reconciliations. Philip said that the Nyantics calumniated him for their own purposes; and the Plymouth, and still more the Massachusetts people were not indisposed to believe that it was so. But at one time his movements appeared so threatening to Plymouth, that he was required to make a temporary surrender of his arms. He engaged to do so, but broke his word. Massachusetts was consulted, and sent three of her eminent citizens to have "a fair and deliberate hearing of the controversy." They do not appear to have imagined the existence of any dangerous plot. But, finding Philip to be a capricious, passionate, and untrustworthy person, they warned him to "amend his ways if he expected peace; and that, if he went on in his refractory way, he must ex

1671. April.

Sept. 24.

pect to smart for it." With the concurrence of his tributary sachems, he made all the submission required.

When for more than three years the quiet thus obtained had been unbroken, of a sudden 1674. "the Governor of Plymouth was informed by Sausaman, a faithful Indian, that the said Philip was undoubtedly endeavoring to raise new troubles, and was endeavoring to engage all the sachems round about in a war; some of the English, also, that lived near the said sachem, communicated their fears and jealousies concurrent with what the Indians had informed." Sausaman was a "praying Indian," who could write as well as speak English, and had been employed as a schoolmaster at Natick. Getting into some trouble there, he betook himself to the Pokanoket country, and was employed by Philip to write for him, when he had occasion for that kind of service. After a while, Sausaman returned to Natick, where he received baptism, and officiated as a preacher. On a visit to his old friends of Philip's tribe, he observed the suspicious proceedings which he made known to the Governor of Plymouth. "Many concurrent testimonies from others" corroborated his story. What he had seen he related under an assurance that the source of the information should be concealed, "adding also, that, if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him."

Philip, hearing that the Governor of Plymouth

had received intelligence to his disadvantage, and would probably send for him to appear at the next Court, resolved to anticipate that step; and, coming of his own accord to Plymouth before the meeting of the Court, he had a conference with the Assistants. His protestations of innocence did not satisfy them; but, "not having full proof, and hoping that the discovery so far would cause him to desist, they dismissed him friendly," with a warning, "that, if they heard further concerning that matter, they might see reason to demand his arms to be delivered up for their security."

1675. March.

Philip went home, and, not many days after, Sausaman disappeared. His friends, searching for him, found his hat and gun on the frozen surface of a pond in what is now the town of Middleborough. Thus attracted to the spot, they discovered his body under the ice. They dragged it out and buried it, supposing that he had been accidentally drowned. But the Governor caused it to be disinterred and examined; when marks of violence appeared, such as left no doubt that the man had been murdered. The crime was traced to three Indians, who were presently arrested and tried. The Court directed, "that, together with the English jury, some of the most indifferentest, gravest, and sage Indians should be admitted to be with the jury, and to help to consult and advise with, of, and concerning the premises." An Indian testified, "that, by accident standing

June 1.

unseen upon a hill, he had seen them [the prisoners] murdering the said Sausaman, but durst never reveal it for fear of losing his own life likewise, until he was called to the Court at Plymouth, or before the Governor, when he plainly confessed what he had seen." On this evidence, confirmed by "other remarkable circumstances," the murderers were convicted, and sentenced to die, the Indian assessors, six in number, fully concurring with the jury in their verdict. Two of the convicts were hanged, and one, having "on some considerations" been reprieved for two or three weeks, was shot. One of them confessed that he had stood by, while the other two committed the crime. June 8.

"A little before the Court" met at which the trial took place, "Philip began to keep his men in arms about him, and to gather strangers unto him, and to march about in arms towards the upper end of the neck on which he lived, and near to the English houses." The neck on which Philip lived was that beautiful peninsular range of hills, twelve miles long, called *Mount Hope*, and now belonging to the town of Bristol, which the traveller from Boston to New York by Fall River sees on his right hand as he passes down Taunton River into Narragansett Bay. Philip's movements were observed; but it was thought prudent to take "as yet no further notice than only to order a military watch in all the adjacent towns, hoping that, Philip finding himself not likely to be arraigned by order of the

said Court, the present cloud might blow over, as some others of like nature had done before."

But no sooner was the Court dissolved, than intelligence came to Plymouth from Swanzey to the effect "that Philip and his men continued constantly in arms, many strange Indians from several places flocked in to him, and that they sent away their wives to Narragansett;" that they "were giving frequent alarums by drums and guns in the night, and invaded the passage towards Plymouth; and their young Indians were earnest for a war." The Magistrates "wrote an amicable, friendly letter to Philip, ... advising him to dismiss his strange Indians, and command his own men to fall quietly to their business, ... and not to suffer himself to be abused by reports concerning them who intended him no wrong nor hurt." But the messenger obtained no answer.

June 14.

The town of Swanzey, "consisting of forty dwelling-houses, most of them very fair buildings," was the nearest of the English towns to Philip's territory. On a Sunday, a party of Indians approached it, burned two houses, and then withdrew. Three days after this, "a dozen more of their houses at Swanzey were rifled." The next day an Englishman was killed there; and the next several others, "upon whose bodies they exercised more than brutish barbarities, beheading, dismembering, and mangling them and exposing them in the most inhuman manner."

June 20.

June 23–25.

By this time a small force from the Plymouth

towns had marched, under the command of Major Bradford and Major Cudworth, to Swanzey, where they were presently joined by a company of foot under Captain Henchman, a troop of horse under Captain Prentice, and a hundred volunteers under Captain Mosely, all of whom had been despatched from Boston by the Magistrates as soon as intelligence of what had taken place reached that town. On the evening of their arrival, after a forced march of more than twenty-four hours, a reconnoitring party of the troopers was fired upon from the bushes, and one man was killed and another wounded. The next morning, a number of Indians, approaching the English camp, were driven back by Captain Mosely, and five or six of them were killed. Philip perceived his position to be untenable, and the following night transported himself and his companions in canoes to Pocasset, on the eastern shore of the bay, where stands at present the town of Tiverton. The English, now led by Major Savage, who had come from Boston with a reinforcement to assume the chief command, occupied Mount Hope, where they found the heads of eight of their countrymen raised on poles, and where they lost some time in throwing up a slight fortification. Meanwhile, parties of Philip's men, who had crossed the bay, moved towards Plymouth, and fell upon the settlements at Dartmouth, Taunton, and Middleborough, burning the houses, and butchering the inhabitants.

June 28.

It was thought material to take precautions

against combinations by Philip with other tribes; and commissioners of Massachusetts and Connecticut, attended by a strong military force, were sent to obtain new guaranties of friendship from the Narragansetts. They succeeded in negotiating a treaty, by which the chiefs of that formi-
July 15. dable race agreed, for a stipulated price, to deliver up to the English, living or dead, whatever subjects of Philip should come within their country, and to resist any invasion by him of their own lands or of the lands of the English. And they gave hostages for their fulfilment of these engagements, and of others of a more general nature. Plymouth was understood to be included in the agreement, though the imperilled state of that colony prevented the presence of commissioners on its part.

But already the war had broken out in a different quarter; and the state of things became much more alarming when an attack upon the
July 14. Massachusetts town of Mendon by some Nipmuck Indians showed that Philip's was even now not the only hostile tribe. Except at Brookfield, where fifteen or sixteen families had settled, the central region of Massachusetts, from Lancaster to Connecticut River, was uninhabited by Englishmen. "There was a great rendezvous of Nipmuck Indians at Quaboag," (Brookfield,) and Captain Edward Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, was sent to them, in the hope of effecting a similar understanding to what had lately been brought about with

the Narragansetts. Arrangements for a conference were made, and Hutchinson, with three citizens of Brookfield, escorted by twenty troopers under Captain Wheeler, repaired to the spot agreed upon, "a plain within three miles of Brookfield," but did not find the savages. Proceeding in search of them some seven miles further, the party fell into an ambush, where the path lay between "a very rocky hill on the right hand and a thick swamp on the left." The Indians fired upon them, and killed eight men upon the spot. Hutchinson, Wheeler, and two others were wounded. Wheeler's horse was killed, and he was supplied with another by his son, who, though nearly helpless from a wound of his own, dismounted and pursued his feeble way on foot, till, fortunately, after receiving another gunshot wound, he caught the horse of one of his dead comrades. Aug. 2.

As yet Philip, after decamping from Mount Hope, had sheltered his followers from pursuit in a bushy swamp at Pocasset, which the English could not penetrate, though there were occasional skirmishes, and several lives were lost on both sides. At length, finding himself too closely pressed after the return of the troops who had been in the Narragansett country, he on a Sunday left his refuge, crossed Taunton River, and led his companions into the interior country. The English, with a party of Mohegans, pursued him, and cut off thirty of his men, but did not succeed in preventing his junction with the July 18. July 30.

Nipmucks, whose camp he reached the day before the fight near Brookfield which has just been related.

Aug. 1.

The English fugitives from that unfortunate field got back to Brookfield by a circuitous way, and, with such means as they had, proceeded to fortify themselves in a large house, where they were presently joined by most of the inhabitants. Wheeler, disabled by his wound, devolved the command of the feeble garrison on Simon Davis, of Concord. The Indians soon appeared, in number, as was believed, no less than three hundred, and burned all the buildings in the outskirts of the town. They drove back two men who were sent out with a message to Boston. Their fire mortally wounded one man in the house. Another, venturing out of it, fell into their hands. They "cut off his head, kicking it about like a foot-ball; and then, putting it upon a pole, they set it up before the door of his father's house."

Their shot allowed the beleaguered English no rest that night. When the moon rose, at three o'clock the next morning, the Indians heaped up a quantity of combustible matter at one corner of the house, and set it on fire; but it was extinguished by a sallying party, who were protected by the marksmen in the house. On a third attempt, made just before dawn, a messenger got away on the path towards Boston. Through that day and the next night the discharge of musketry against the house continued, and repeated

Aug. 3.

attempts were made to fire it. Arrows, tipped with burning rags of cotton and linen, were shot to the roof, through which holes had to be cut to get at them with water. "A ball of wild-fire" reached the garret, where was a heap of flax or tow, but was fortunately discovered in season to prevent mischief. Besides the men, there were women and children within the house to the number of fifty, and the shot from without often pierced the walls.

The difficulty for the Indians was to get near enough, under the fire from the house, to burn out the besieged party. By the third day, they had built a sort of "carriage, about four- Aug. 4 teen yards long," with a barrel for a wheel, and "loaded the front or fore end thereof with matter fit for firing, as hay, and flax, and chips, etc." But Providence was watchful. In the course of the day there fell "a shower of rain, whereby the matter prepared, being wet, would not so easily take fire as it would otherwise have done."

The worst was now over. An hour after nightfall, Major Simon Willard galloped into the town at the head of forty-seven heavy-armed horsemen. In the forenoon Willard was on his way with that little force from Lancaster to Groton, when a messenger from Marlborough overtook him with the tidings which had been brought thither by the runner from Brookfield. The distance to be travelled in order to carry relief was thirty miles, and the road was not such as might favor a rapid movement.

But Willard was at home in the saddle, notwithstanding the burden of seventy years, and he came in season to save his friends another night of sleepless misery; "God, who comforteth the afflicted, as he comforted the holy Apostle Paul by the coming of Titus unto him, so he greatly comforted his distressed servants, both soldiers and town inhabitants, by the coming of the said honored Major, and those with him." The Indians fired upon the new-comers, and wounded two men. But the next morning, before daybreak, they dispersed, having, according to a subsequent statement of one of them, suffered a loss of not fewer than eighty, in killed and wounded, during the three days. On that day, as was afterwards reported by a captive Indian, Philip, accompanied by forty of his men, with their women and children, was conducted to a swamp ten or twelve miles from Brookfield, where he met some of the Nipmuck chiefs, and made them presents, in acknowledgment of their recent exploit. The next week, as many of the survivors of Wheeler's command as were able to travel came down to Marlborough, where Hutchinson died of his wound. Near by, at Lancaster, the Indians, who had followed them, surprised and butchered an English family that were keeping their Sabbath at home. Willard proceeded to Hadley, and remained there with his troop two or three weeks.

Aug. 5.

Aug. 13.

Aug. 19.

Aug. 22.

After Philip's departure from Plymouth, that colony was tranquil for a time; but, throughout

the length and breadth of Massachusetts, the alarm reached every settlement and every dwelling. The exposed state of the remote towns on the Connecticut excited special solicitude, and forces were sent in that direction from the seaboard, under the command of Captain Beers, of Watertown, Captain Lothrop, of Ipswich, and Captain Mosely, of Boston; and from Hartford, under the command of Major Treat, of Milford, who was also accompanied by a party of Mohegans. Major Pynchon, of Springfield, son of the former Assistant of that name, was the officer highest in command in this quarter, after Willard went eastward. Hadley was designated to be made the principal military post, and the place of deposit for supplies. At Hatfield, a little stockade had been put in charge of some Indian auxiliaries, who were supplied with arms and ammunition. There appeared reason to suspect their fidelity; and Beers and Lothrop, sent with a hundred men to disarm them, found that they had decamped the night before. The English pursued, and came upon them in a swamp, where an engagement took place, in which ten of the English fell, and twenty-six of the savages. Aug. 25

At the end of another week, separate attacks were made upon two of the settlements on the Connecticut. At Deerfield, several houses and barns were burned, and two men were killed. Sept. 1. At Hadley, from which place the Indians had observed most of the garrison to be absent,

the inhabitants were keeping a fast, when their devotion was disturbed by the outcries of the furious enemy. Seizing the muskets which stood by their sides, the men rushed out of their meeting-house, and hastily fell into line; but the suddenness of the assault, from a foe now enclosing them all around, was bewildering, and they seemed about to give way, when, it is said, an unknown man of advanced years and in ancient garb appeared among them, and abruptly assumed the direction, with the bearing and tone of one used to battles. His sharp word of command instantly restored order. Musket and pike were handled with nerve. The invaders were driven in headlong flight out of the town. When the pursuers collected again, their deliverer had disappeared, nor could any man get an answer to the question, by what instrument a gracious Providence had interposed for their rescue. It was the regicide, Colonel Goffe. Sitting at a window of the minister's house, while his neighbors were at worship, he had seen the stealthy savages coming down over the hills; again the old ardor took possession of him; he rushed out to win one more victory for God's people, and then went back to the retirement from which no man knows that he ever afterwards emerged.

The savages were skulking in the woods all along the river, from Springfield to the uppermost English settlement, which was at Northfield (Squakheag). At the latter place, a party having ventured out of a block-house, was

Sept. 2.

intercepted on its return, and nine or ten men were killed. Thirty-six men, sent up under Captain Beers with wagons to bring off what remained of the garrison and its stores, had arrived within three miles of the place, when they were fired upon by a concealed party of the enemy. Sept. 4
The English fought till their ammunition was spent, and then gave way, having killed twenty-five of their assailants. More than twenty of their own number fell, including their commander. Most of the survivors got back to Hadley the same night. One wandered in the woods six days, and when he came in "was almost famished, and so lost his understanding that he knew not what day the fight was on." Major Treat was sent up the river with a force of a hundred men to repeat the attempt in which his unfortunate comrade had failed. and, "coming nigh Squakheag, his men were much daunted to see the heads of Captain Beers's soldiers upon poles by the wayside." Sept. 6. They also were waylaid, and their commander was wounded by a spent ball. They fought their way through, and brought off their friends in safety from Northfield; and for the present that settlement was abandoned.

So stood the war at the time when, at Boston, the Commissioners of the three colonies came together for their first regular meeting after the establishment of the new Confederacy. The Commissioners from Plymouth laid before their associates a "Narrative snowing the Manner of the Sept. 9

Beginning and Progress of the Present War," and bringing down the story to the attack upon Swanzey, eleven or twelve weeks before the Commissioners assembled. Thereupon the Commissioners, by unanimous votes, declared the war to be "both just and necessary, in its first rise a defensive war;" "agreed and concluded that it ought now to be jointly prosecuted by all the United Colonies, and the charges thereof to be borne and paid as was agreed in the Articles of Confederation;" and ordered "that there be forthwith raised a thousand soldiers, whereof five hundred to be dragoons or troopers, with long arms." Of this force Massachusetts was to furnish five hundred and twenty-seven men, Connecticut three hundred and fifteen, and Plymouth one hundred and fifty-eight.

If a wide conspiracy of the natives had been planned, with Philip for its leader, it may be supposed that the Commissioners would have had some information or some suspicion of it. But nothing of this kind can be gathered from their record, after they had had three months to make observations, and had conferred with Philip's neighbors at Plymouth.

What they saw was that the madness, which all along there had been cause to watch and fear, was now broken loose. However much or little the movement that was going on had of arrangement or concert, at all events it was destructive. So long as mischief was threatened only by the tribe

of their ancient allies on the eastern shore of Narragansett Bay, the danger was not appalling. But it would be far otherwise should the thirst for blood become epidemic; and the last fortnight had shown that the contagion was already spread over a wide extent.

During ten weeks the Federal Commissioners came together repeatedly; or, rather, they held a nearly continuous session. More distressing intelligence than had yet come was presently to reach them from the west. After Northfield was abandoned, Deerfield, which became the most northerly settlement, was the next to be broken up. The inhabitants having been fired upon as they went to public worship, and their houses burned, it was thought best to withdraw them into the lower towns. They left a quantity of wheat, just reaped, and "threshed out as well as they could in those tumults." This it was desirable to secure. From Hadley, twenty miles distant, the head-quarters of the troops, a party was despatched to finish threshing the grain, and bring it in. Eighteen wagons, with their teamsters, were convoyed by a company of ninety picked men, led by Captain Lothrop. The grain was threshed, and put in the wagons, with some furniture of the inhabitants, and the party proceeded on their return. Captain Mosely, whom they found at Deerfield with his company, remained there on their departure, and undertook, by his scouts, to secure his friends against any sudden approach of the foe.

Sept. 9–Nov 19

Sept. 12.

Lothrop's party made a few miles of their proposed march in safety, and about seven o'clock in the morning reached a small stream within the township of Deerfield, since called *Bloody Brook*, in memory of that disastrous day. The stream was bordered by thick woods. As the wag-
Sept. 18. ons slowly forded it, tradition relates that the men imprudently put their arms in them, and scattered to gather the wild grapes which hung ripe upon the vines. A sudden volley from hundreds of muskets on the right of the path startled them from their security. Several were killed. A crowd of savages sprang from an ambush, and fell upon the rest, before they had time to form and regain their weapons. Lothrop was "a godly and courageous commander;" but valor so beset was unavailing. The assailants were believed to be not fewer than seven hundred. Lothrop was shot dead early in the action. Seven or eight Englishmen, at the utmost, escaped. One of these had been stripped and left for dead, after being wounded, first by a musket-ball, and then by a tomahawk. Another forced his way through with his musket, with which he laid about him with one arm, after the other was broken. The dead were all buried in one grave, now covered with a memorial stone, which arrests the traveller's attention on the side of the highway in South Deerfield.

Lothrop's company was known by the name of "The Flower of Essex," being "all culled out of the towns belonging to that county." Its fate

was "a sad and awful providence," "a dismal and fatal blow," "a sadder rebuke of Providence than anything that hitherto had been." The day was "a black and fatal day," "the saddest that ever befell New England."

Mosely heard the firing four or five miles off, and, marching down with all speed to relieve his comrades, found the conquerors busy in scalping and spoiling the dead bodies. He came upon them at eleven o'clock before noon, and attacked them with vigor; but, though he killed a considerable number, they kept up the contest from their hiding-places till evening, when Major Treat, who had been further up the river with a hundred Englishmen and half as many friendly Mohegans, came down and drove the savages from the ground. The English encamped over night near the scene of the battle, and in the morning proceeded to bury the bodies of their friends, after again dispersing some Indians whom they found engaged in stripping and disfiguring them. When, after a few days, Mosely's force was ordered away from Deerfield, the few remaining inhabitants deserted that place; and Springfield, Hadley, Northampton, and Hatfield were the only towns on the Connecticut still held by the English in Massachusetts. Springfield was fiercely attacked by a large force, and some thirty houses were ravaged and burned: a disaster which was the more deplored, because the planters had lived on the most friendly terms with the natives in their neighbor- Oct. 5.

hood through the whole history of that settlement, now forty years old, and had lately received from them the most positive assurances of friendship. The last appearance of any considerable force of Indians for the present at the western plantations was at Hatfield, whence, after a sharp encounter, they were repulsed with considerable loss. From this time they appear to have dispersed, especially towards the holds of the Narragansetts. Many also of the English troops from the sea-coast were withdrawn to their homes.

Oct. 19.

The attitude of the powerful Narragansett tribe was regarded with anxiety. It was known that, so far from keeping their compact to surrender such enemies of the English as should fall into their hands, they had harbored numbers of Philip's dispersed retainers and allies. While the Federal Commissioners were in session at Boston, Canonchet, sachem of the Narragansetts, came thither with other chiefs, and promised that the hostile Indians whom they acknowledged to be then under their protection should be surrendered within ten days. But probably the course of events on Connecticut River emboldened them. At all events, they did not keep their engagement. The day for the surrender came and went, and no Indians appeared. If that faithless tribe, the most powerful in New England, should assume active hostilities, a terrible desolation would ensue.

Oct. 18.

The Commissioners moved promptly. The fifth day after the breach of the treaty found them re-

assembled after a short recess. They immediately determined to raise an additional force of a thousand men for service in the Narragansett country. Nov. 2. They appointed Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, to be commander-in-chief, and desired the colony of Connecticut to name his lieutenant. The General was to place himself at the head of his troops within six weeks, "a solemn day of prayer and humiliation" being kept through all the colonies meanwhile. The Commissioners "commended to the several General Courts or Councils that effectual care be taken that the soldiers sent on this expedition be men of strength, courage, and activity; their arms well fixed, and fit for service; that their clothing be in all respects strong and warm, suitable for the season; that they have provisions in their knapsacks for a week's march from their rendezvous, and supply in a magazine appointed for a more general service; also, that there be a meet number of able ministers and chirurgeons provided and appointed for the expedition." Time was thus given to the Narragansetts to make their peace "by actual performance of their covenants made with the Commissioners; as also making reparation for all damages sustained by their neglect hitherto, together with security for their further fidelity." If they failed to profit by the respite, then they were to feel the blow in the success of which the being of civilized New England was visibly involved.

It is not known whether Philip was among the

Narragansetts at this time. Under whatever influence it was, whether from stupidity or from confidence, they made no further attempt at pacification. Their present quiet afforded no omen of peaceful intentions. For the season was not favorable to active operations on their part. On a march they could find no provisions except what they should obtain by pillage, and the leafless trees and bushes denied them the concealment which was required by their methods of conducting war.

The Massachusetts troops marched from Dedham to Attleborough on the day before
Dec. 9. that which had been appointed by the Commissioners for them to meet the Plymouth levy at the northeastern corner of the Narragansett country. The following day they reached Seekonk.

A week earlier, the few English houses at
Dec. 2. Quinsigamond (Worcester) had been burned by a party of natives; and a few days later, the house of Jeremiah Bull, at Pettyquamscott, which had been designated as the place of general ren-
dezvous for the English, was fired, and ten
Dec. 5. men and five women and children, who had taken refuge in it, were put to death.

Six companies of foot and one mounted troop, from Massachusetts, under Major Appleton, of Ipswich, and two companies from Plymouth, under Major Bradford, came to Smith's house at Wickford.
There, after a few days, they received infor-
Dec. 13. mation that Major Treat, of Connecticut, had reached Pettyquamscott, with five companies

of English and fifty Mohegan allies; whereupon they immediately proceeded to that place. Dec. 18. Governor Winslow took the command, and no time was lost. The General had from a prisoner information of the place where the principal force of the Narragansetts was collected; and, on the night when he made a junction with the Connecticut troops, he gave orders for an attack upon it, to be made on the following day, though it would be Sunday; for, in waiting for the reinforcement from Connecticut, provisions had been falling short.

The place where the Narragansetts were to be sought was in what is now the town of South Kingston, eighteen miles distant, in a northwesterly direction, from Pettyquamscott, and a little further from that Pequot fort to the southwest, which had been destroyed by the force under Captain Mason, forty years before. According to information afterwards received from a captive, the Indian warriors here collected were no fewer than three thousand five hundred. They were on their guard, and had fortified their hold to the best of their skill. It was on a solid piece of upland of five or six acres, wholly surrounded by a swamp. On the inner side of this natural defence they had driven rows of palisades, making a barrier nearly a rod in thickness; and the only entrance to the enclosure was over a rude bridge consisting of a felled tree, four or five feet from the ground, the bridge being protected by a block-house. The English, breaking

up their camp while it was yet dark, arrived before the place at one o'clock after noon. Having passed, without shelter, a very cold night, they had made a march of eighteen miles, through deep snow, scarcely halting to refresh themselves with food. In this condition they immediately advanced to the attack. The Massachusetts troops were in the van of the storming column; next came the two Plymouth companies; and then the force from Connecticut.

Dec. 19.

The foremost of the assailants were received with a well-directed fire. Captain Johnson, of Roxbury, was shot dead on the bridge, as he was rushing over it at the head of his company. Captain Davenport, of Boston, son of Captain Davenport of the Pequot war, had penetrated within the enclosure, when he met the same fate. Captain Gardiner, of Salem, and two Connecticut Captains, Gallup, of New London, and Marshall, of Windsor, were also killed outright. Lieutenant Upham, of Boston, and Captain Seeley, of Stratford, received wounds which after a while proved fatal. Major Bradford, of Plymouth, "was sorely wounded, but God had mercy on him, and on his people in him, so as to spare his life, and to restore him to some measure of health." Captain Gorham, of Barnstable, who led the other Plymouth company in the action, took a fever which soon ended his days. Captain John Mason, of Norwich, son of the commander against the Pequots, received a wound which caused his death, though he lingered for sev

eral months, and was made an Assistant in the following spring.

Nothing discouraged by the fall of their leaders, the men pressed on, and a sharp conflict followed, which, with fluctuating success, lasted for two or three hours. Once the assailants were beaten out of the fort; but they presently rallied and regained their ground. There was nothing for either party but to conquer or die, enclosed together as they were. At length victory declared for the English, who finished their work by setting fire to the wigwams within the fort. They lost seventy men killed, and a hundred and fifty wounded. Of the Connecticut contingent alone, out of three hundred men forty were killed and as many wounded. The number of the enemy that perished is uncertain. "A great counsellor among them," afterwards taken prisoner, said that seven hundred fighting men were killed that day, and three hundred received fatal wounds. But his motives for speaking the truth, his means of knowledge, and his capacity of computation, are alike questionable. What is both certain and material is, that on that day the military strength of the formidable Narragansett tribe was irreparably broken.

Another cold night was now coming on, and snow was again falling. The wigwams of the fort being consumed, there was no shelter for the English within many miles; and the surgeons pronounced that it was indispensable to remove the wounded at once to a place of repose, before they

should become too stiff for treatment. Accordingly, the troops were forced to retrace their way by a night-march through snow that deepened as they went. The wounded were cared for with all tenderness, but several of them died before morning Two hours after midnight most of the army got back to Smith's plantation at Wickford.

CHAPTER IV.

PHILIP'S WAR.

After the great battle of the Narragansett fort, the settlements breathed more freely. But by no means could they promise themselves security as yet. Friendly Indians, sent out "to make discovery of the enemy," brought back intelligence that they pretended to be expecting assistance from the French, and that they meant soon to fall upon the western line of the seaboard settlements; that "the old men were weary of the war, but the young men were for the continuance of it;" and that "it was reported there were seven hundred fighting men, well armed, left of the Narragansetts." 1676. Jan.

At Wickford, to which place the colonial force had returned, it "lay still some weeks, bread for the soldiers being wanting, by reason the extremity of the weather was such as that the vessel laden with provisions could not reach them." Many of the wounded were taken over to Rhode Island, for better nursing than the camp allowed. The Connecticut troops, "much disabled with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs," were withdrawn by their commander to Stoning-

ton. The forces from Massachusetts and Plymouth still kept the field; but to little profit, for the enemy had dispersed in all directions. Some unimportant skirmishes took place; but again "bread failed, so as that men were forced to kill horses and feed upon them;" and, after a campaign of nearly two months, the Massachusetts troops returned to Boston. The Commissioners then called on the three colonies for another levy of six hundred men, to rendezvous at Brookfield in three weeks.

Feb. 5.

Feb. 8.

In an alluvial valley, thirty-five miles west from Boston, the beautiful River Nashua receives a large tributary stream before it proceeds on its tranquil way to the Merrimack. Within the borders of New England there is no more attractive spot. The richness of the *intervale* soil, and the picturesque charm of the surrounding hills, crowned with primitive forests of walnut, chestnut, maple, and evergreens, invited the attention of one of the earliest companies that looked for an inland home. As early as the twenty-fifth year after the planting of Salem, Mr. Joseph Rowlandson was preaching to nine families of pioneers at *Nashua*, as the place was then called. Five years later, Major Willard, of Concord, removed to Lancaster, and continued to make it his residence for many years. At the time now under consideration, it contained some fifty houses, and between two hundred and fifty and three hundred inhabitants.

1654.

When the troops who had been in the Narra-

gansett country were withdrawn from the field, information was brought by spies that the Indians were intending to destroy Lancaster. Mr. Rowlandson had already been sent by his neighbors to Boston, to represent their exposed condition. But the government moved too slowly. Rowlandson was still absent in attendance upon them, and Wadsworth, with a party of forty men, was still on his way towards the town, when an overwhelming force of Indians attacked it. Rowlandson's wife was there, and a record afterwards composed by her of her observations and experiences while in the hands of the savages constitutes the most circumstantial account that has been transmitted of their manner of life at that time.

The party which attacked Lancaster came upon it at sunrise. The first thing they did was to set fire to the houses on the outskirts. 1676. Feb. 10. "There were five persons taken in one house; the father and mother and a sucking child they knocked on the head; the other two they took and carried away alive. . . . . Another there was, who, running along, was shot and wounded, and fell down; he begged of them his life, promising them money, as they said, but they would not hearken to him, but knocked him on the head, stripped him naked, and split open his bowels." Rowlandson's house, standing on the border of a brook, was fortified, and several of the neighbors took refuge in it on the first alarm. After besetting it for two hours, and shooting down several of the occupants, (who

at the onset were forty-two in number,) the assailants, approaching from a slight eminence behind, succeeded in setting it on fire. Twelve of those within were killed; one only escaped; the rest were carried away by the savages, who, before their departure, reduced most of the hamlet to ashes. Two other fortified houses escaped the ruin. Before the Indians, who had dispersed in search of plunder, were again collected, Captain Wadsworth came up from Marlborough with his party, and put them to flight. The government sent a force to bring to Boston those of the inhabitants who had escaped; and, after their departure, the remaining buildings were fired by the Indians.

Mrs. Rowlandson was among the captives. She came out of the garrison house, carrying in her arms her daughter, six years old. A bullet struck the child, and entered her own side. The next morning, she writes, "one of the Indians carried my poor wounded babe upon a horse; it went moaning all along, 'I shall die, I shall die.' I went on foot after it with sorrow that cannot be expressed. At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my arms till my strength failed me, and I fell down with it. . . . . After this it quickly began to snow, and when night came on they stopped. And now down I must sit in the snow, by a little fire, and a few boughs behind me with my sick child in my lap, and calling much for water, being now, through the wound, fallen into a violent fever; my own wound, also, growing so

stiff that I could scarce sit down or rise up; yet so it must be that I must sit all this cold winter night upon the cold snowy ground, with my sick child in my arms, looking that every hour would be the last of its life, and having no Christian friend near me either to comfort or help me. Oh, I may see the wonderful power of God that my spirit did not utterly sink under my affliction; still the Lord upheld me with his gracious and merciful spirit."

For three days neither mother nor child had anything to sustain life, "except only a little cold water." The Indians desired to preserve the mother for the sake of a ransom; but they were impatient of her grief; and one after another would come to her and say, "Your master will knock your child on the head." At one of the places where they made a halt was an empty wigwam. Thither, continues the sad narrative, "I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sat with the picture of death in my lap. About two hours in the night my sweet babe like a lamb departed this life, it being about six years and five months old. It was nine days from the first wounding in this miserable condition, without any refreshing of one nature or another, except a little cold water. I cannot but take notice how at another time I could not bear to be in a room where a dead person was; but now the case is changed; I must and could lie down with my dead babe all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me in preserving me so in

the use of my reason and senses in that distressed time that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life. . . . . I went to take my dead child in my arms, to carry it with me, but they bid me let it alone. There was no resisting, but go I must, and leave it."

For two months the party to which Mrs. Rowlandson was a prisoner wandered about, with no apparent aim, unless it were to escape pursuit. They travelled for the most part in the neighborhood of Connecticut River, but at one time came as far east as Mount Wachusett. They had brought away abundance of all sorts of stores from Lancaster; but these, with that marvellous stupidity as to the future which belonged to their race, they presently wasted, and they were soon reduced to a scanty supply of acorns and ground-nuts, and, in the frequent failure of this resource, were fain to support life on the most odious garbage. Mrs. Rowlandson saw Philip two or three times, but not in circumstances to stimulate the sentiment of hero-worship. At the end of nearly three months, she was ransomed for twenty pounds, and joined her husband at Boston.

May 2.

The incidents of this sad history may be taken for a sample of the experience of the numerous English captives in this war who have left no record of what they endured and what they witnessed. After the assault upon Lancaster, the course of devastation turned eastward. Sudbury and Chelmsford were attacked. At daybreak,

while the villagers were asleep, an onset was made upon Medfield. Twenty English people were killed, and half the town was laid in ashes, before the ravagers were repulsed. At Weymouth, where they burned seven or eight buildings, they made their nearest approach to Boston. The deserted dwellings in Mendon were given to the flames. At Eel River, in the outskirts of Plymouth, eleven Englishmen were massacred. In the opposite direction from Boston, the forty houses which constituted the settlement at Groton were all consumed; only one inhabitant, however, being killed, and ten wounded. An assault upon Northampton was unsuccessful. Five Englishmen were killed there, and as many wounded; but the Indians were driven off, leaving the dead bodies of eleven of their number. Passing into Rhode Island, the savages appeared at Warwick, and burned every house except one. The destruction of all the remaining English houses between Narragansett Bay and the Paucatuck River immediately followed.

Feb. 21

Feb. 25.

March 12.

March 13.

March 14.

March 17.

As spring approached, the full activity of the war revived. The new year, as in that age it was reckoned, had a doubly calamitous opening. While the people of Marlborough were at their Sunday worship, the stealthy enemy crept out of their covert and fired the town; and the destruction was so complete, that the inhabitants abandoned their settlement and "another candle-

March 26

stick was removed out of his place." At the same hour, a still heavier disaster was experienced elsewhere. The government of Plymouth, perceiving the tide of war to be turning again in the direction of their country, despatched Captain Pierce, of Scituate, in command of fifty Englishmen and twenty friendly natives, to Pawtuxet. He fell in with a party of natives, headed by the Narragansett chief, Canonchet, and engaged them. They appeared to retreat, and so lured him into an ambush, where he was surrounded by greatly superior numbers, and was killed, with eight of his Indians, and all of his English companions but one, at the cost to the enemy, as was reported, of the lives of a hundred and forty. This was the most serious single disaster sustained by Plymouth colony during the war. Nor was it the last misfortune of that unhappy day. Eighteen English people were riding into Springfield to attend divine service, when they were fired upon from a hiding-place, and two of the company were killed on the spot, and four others — two women with their children — fell into the hands of the ravagers, and were put to death.

On the night after their exploit at Marlborough, the Indians, some three hundred in number, encamped near that place, between it and Sudbury, a plantation ten miles distant from Marlborough to the east. Forty men, marching from Sudbury in quest of them, and guided by their fires, came upon them by surprise, just before the dawn

March 27.

of the next day. "God so disposed of the bullets that were shot at that time," that, according to information afterwards obtained from prisoners, "no less than thirty Indians were wounded, of whom there were fourteen that died." No Englishman was hurt. The next day, a marauding party appeared on the border of Rhode Island, March 28. and burned forty houses at Rehoboth. On the two following days, they fired the town of March 29, 30. Providence in different quarters, and thirty or forty houses were consumed. In one of them were the early records of the settlement.

In the same predatory way the war was prosecuted on the part of the savages for two months more. Wrentham, Seekonk, Plymouth, April and May. Andover, Chelmsford, Sudbury, Scituate, Bridgewater, and Middleborough were wholly or partly sacked and burned. The Indians, in their knowledge of the country, and their facilities for concealment and for falling suddenly on the fixed residences of their enemy, had the same immense advantage, that, a century and a half later, involved the United States of America in an expenditure of millions of dollars and of thousands of lives, before they could subdue a few hundreds of wretched native vagabonds in Florida. But, on the other hand, Philip's adherents, dispersed more or less during the winter months from the places where their supplies — scanty at the best — had been nitherto found, were now distressed for want of food; and the constancy of the whites, tracking

them to their dens with indefatigable diligence, speedily recovering every available point of defence that had been surrendered, and reinforced, as often as was necessary, with means of living and munitions of war, was telling with dispiriting effect upon a rout of barbarians who had no ground for reliance on each other's fidelity, and no basis for their own resolution better than a love of rapine and of blood.

With returning spring, the Connecticut troops, who, after the fight at the Narragansett fort, had withdrawn to their colony, came again into the field. Captain George Denison marched towards Plymouth at the head of a small party of English volunteers from Stonington, Norwich, and New London, and of some auxiliary natives of the Mohegan and Pequot tribes, and of the subjects of Ninigret, the Nyantic sachem, who throughout this war acted a friendly part, troublesome as he had been found in earlier times.

In the Narragansett country Denison fell in with some hostile Indians, of whom he killed and took prisoners forty-five. Among the captives was the sachem Canonchet, just returned from the slaughter of Captain Pierce's party. His perfidy in respect to the late treaties was thought to have forfeited for him all claim to mercy; and he was taken to Stonington, and there put to death by the native allies of the English. Pursuing his way, Denison encountered and defeated another force of the Indians, killing and taking

April 6.

April 27.

captive twenty-six of their number. Two Narragansett sachems were among the prisoners.

Two important successes, however, the Indians had, after the tide thus turned against them. Captain Wadsworth, of Milton, with seventy men, had been left at Marlborough, "to strengthen that frontier." Hearing there that the enemy had appeared at Sudbury, he "marched in the night with all the speed he could." The next afternoon he fell in with about a hundred Indians. They broke and fled before his attack, as was usual with them when confronted with anything like an equal force. Incautiously he pursued them into the woods, where he found himself surrounded by as many as five hundred assailants. He drew his men off to a hill, and there continued the contest as long as daylight lasted, killing, as a prisoner afterwards reported, a hundred and twenty of the enemy. But the combatants were too unequally matched. Only twenty Englishmen escaped. Wadsworth and his lieutenant were among those slain on the field. Five or six of their comrades were less fortunate. The victors "carried them away alive, but that night killed them in such a manner as none but savages would have done. For they stripped them naked, and caused them to run the gantlet, whipping them after a cruel and bloody manner, and then threw hot ashes upon them, cut out the flesh of their legs, and put fire into their wounds, delighting to see the miserable torments of wretched creatures." April 18.

As the spring advanced, a large English force, consisting of four companies from Massachusetts and four from Connecticut, was stationed in the towns of Northampton, Hatfield, and Hadley. From time to time small parties of the enemy attacked their outposts, but without gaining any considerable advantage. An inhabitant of Hadley, carried off by the savages in one of these forays, effected his escape, and brought intelligence that a numerous party of them were planting and fishing by the upper falls of the River Connecticut, where that stream now divides the towns of Gill and Montague. Captain Turner, of Boston, in command of the English force in the upper towns, at once arranged to attack them. By a night march of twenty miles, he came in sight of the Indian camp just at daylight, with a hundred and eighty troopers. The surface of the ground was such as required that it should be passed on foot. Dismounting, the party tied their horses, and were still unobserved, till, having reached the edge of the camp, they disturbed its repose with a volley of musketry. The enterprise thus far was completely successful. The Indians, in their sudden terror, made a feeble and useless resistance. Numbers perished by shot and by the sword. A crowd rushed to the river, where some escaped in their canoes; others were carried over the falls and drowned; others, swimming for life, were reached by the bullets of the marksmen lining the shore.

April 27.

May 15.

May 18.

By the musket, the sword, and the water, three hundred Indians perished in this action. The English lost one man only. The affair derived further importance from being attended with the destruction of a large store of the enemy's supplies of food and ammunition.

But the fortune of the day was inconstant. Another party of natives, not far off, heard the tumult, and hastened to the scene; and the English presently found themselves so closely pressed by a large hostile force, that they esteemed themselves fortunate to recover their horses, and begin their retreat. All along the line of their march, they were now attacked from various points at once. An Indian prisoner said that Philip was close by with a thousand men. The story passed through the ranks, and increased the panic. Captain Holyoke, the second in command, was charged to protect the rear. His column was nearly surrounded, and he was himself about to be cut off, when, by shooting the foremost of several Indians who were close upon him, he checked their advance. His force broke up into small parties. One party was cut to pieces as it was passing through a morass. Another, forced to surrender, was doomed to a worse fate. Holyoke marched back his surviving men, a hundred and forty in number, to Hatfield. He won enthusiastic praise for the courage and conduct which, in such woful circumstances, had averted worse calamity. But the day was fatal to him. Though he was only twenty-

eight years old, it broke down his strength, and he died before the winter. Captain Turner was killed in Greenfield meadow. He was feeble from recent illness; and an opinion was entertained at the time, that the fatigue of the night march, followed by the excitement of battle, and then by exposure to a scorching sun, had incapacitated him for directing the dispositions needful at such a juncture.

The General Court of Massachusetts, now in session, was adopting the most vigorous measures. Not content with unsparingly pressing men and supplies for the camp, they empowered town officers "to impress men for the management and carrying on of the husbandry of such persons as were called off from the same into the service, who had not sufficient help of their own left at home to manage the same." They provided for the punishment by fines of every impressed person who failed to report himself for duty; if his neglect was "accompanied with refractoriness, reflection, or contempt upon authority," he was to suffer death or some other grievous punishment. Men driven from their homes by the enemy were to be enrolled for military duty in the places of their refuge. All persons, under the penalty of confiscation of all their property, were forbidden to trade with Indians, except such as were in the service or the custody of the government. No person could leave the town he belonged to without permission from the local military committee. The General Court invited Plymouth and Connecticut to make new exertions

And they charged some messengers sent to the Indians with offers of a treaty, to manage the business "with clearness and confidence, that so no panic, fear, or weakness of mind might appear; and let them know that the English were resolved to make war their work, until they enjoyed a firm peace."

The last considerable success obtained by the Indians was that which has just been related. Emboldened by it, they attacked Hatfield with a force of six or seven hundred men, and fired several buildings. The flames were seen at Hadley, and twenty-five men were despatched to relieve the place. On their way they came upon a detachment of a hundred and fifty savages, killed twenty-five of them, and put the survivors to rout, with a loss of five of their own number killed and three wounded; after which the inhabitants, thus reinforced, drove the savages from the town. One more attack concluded their series of operations on Connecticut River. After the affair at Turner's Falls, (so called from the name of the commander in the late battle,) Major Talcott, with a force of two hundred and fifty English soldiers and two hundred Mohegans, was despatched to the scene of war, with instructions to form a junction at Brookfield with Captain Henchman, who was leading thither a force from Boston. On their way, both had successful engagements with the enemy, the former killing and capturing more than fifty of them in what is now the town of

May 30.

June 5.

Dudley, and the latter killing six, and making twenty-nine prisoners, near Lancaster. Talcott, who did not fall in with the Massachusetts troops, had been at Hadley only a day or two when that place was set upon by a force of Indians, said to be seven hundred strong. They divided themselves into two parties, one of which lay in ambush at one end of the town, while their comrades made an open assault at the other end. The assailants overleaped a palisade by which the group of dwellings was surrounded; but the discharge of a cannon threw them into disorder, and they presently fled in all directions. It was said that they lost thirty men; while only three or four of the English fell, and this in consequence of their having rashly continued a pursuit too far.

June 9.

June 12.

In other quarters the savages were generally no more successful. The loss experienced by them at the falls of the Connecticut, notwithstanding the turn in their favor, had crippled them severely. Several of their chiefs had fallen there, and the principal fishing-place of the region had been rendered insecure for their use. It was already late in the season for planting, and no time was to be lost in repairing to their several homes, if they were to raise any crop for their subsistence in the coming winter. Small parties, on their way to lands heretofore used for this purpose, or wandering about the country in search of food wherever it might be found, were hunted by the better-provided Eng

lishmen, and broken up one after another. Captain Brattle surprised a party who were fishing near Rehoboth. At Norwich, seventy hostile red men appeared, and made a voluntary surrender. In four engagements within a week, one near Marlborough, two in the Narragansett country, and a fourth near Providence, Major Talcott killed two hundred and fifty of the enemy. "Two hundred Indians came and submitted themselves to mercy, in Plymouth colony, being partly necessitated thereunto by the distresses which God, in his holy providence, had brought them into." Captain Church, who was now for a third time in the field, was making prisoners of straggling parties of Philip's own tribe. James the Printer, with a hundred and forty followers, surrendered on the faith of a proclamation in which the government had offered pardon to such Indians in arms as should come in and yield themselves.

May 23.
June 16.
June 26.
July 2.
July 4.
July 6.
July 1.

James was a Praying Indian, of Hassanamissitt, (now Grafton,) who had acquired the addition to his name by being employed as an assistant at Cambridge in the printing of Eliot's translation of the Bible. In the war which was now approaching its termination the Praying Indians had not proved so faithful to their English friends as was hoped when it broke out. So fully had they been trusted, that, at the beginning of hostilities, a company of them, fifty in number, was

1675. July

raised for service against Philip. But it was known that some of the professed converts were concerned in the early attack on Mendon; and from that time their movements were observed with anxious vigilance. Frequently the marauders in the Nipmuck country were recognized as Indians who had professed Christianity; nor in that region was it found that there was any community, or any considerable number of natives, who could be relied upon as allies by reason of the bonds of a common faith. The restraint which, after the assault on Brookfield, it was thought needful to impose on the professed converts would have been harsh, if it had not seemed to be demanded by the necessity of the case. All the Christian Indians of the Nipmuck tribe were required by the Magistrates to come together at five places that were named, and there build their wigwams in compact settlements. They were not to go from these more than a mile's distance, unless accompanied by an Englishman; and if they violated this regulation, they were liable to be imprisoned or put to death. They were to extend no hospitality to other Indians; and they were charged to disclose to the English all that they should learn of the enemy's designs. Such precautions proved insufficient, and at one time no fewer than two hundred went off in a body to the hostile camp. Some Praying Indians, on the other hand, served the English well as soldiers and as spies; while some, loving mischief more than they cared at whose cost it was

Aug. 30.

Nov.

done, joined the one side or the other from time to time, according as they were allured by the prospect of plunder.

The assault on Springfield by Indian neighbors who had always been relied upon as friends increased the consternation and distrust. It is of the nature of perfidy that the punishment extends further than the crime. In circumstances of serious hardship to them, the converts at Natick and some other towns were now withdrawn to Deer Island, in Boston harbor. A number of the Christianized natives of Plymouth colony were in like manner collected at Clarke's Island in the harbor of Plymouth. The Praying Indians on Cape Cod proved themselves worthy of all confidence, nor did the unconverted natives in that region give serious occasion for uneasiness. And so trusted were the converts on Martha's Vineyard, that prisoners, when they became numerous, were sent thither for safe-keeping. By the spring, the good conduct of those converts who had been under restraint, and the services of some of their number in the field and otherwise, had conquered the prejudice against them. They were discharged from their imprisonment on the islands, and in large numbers were taken into the military service, in May. which they acquitted themselves with fidelity and to good purpose.

CHAPTER V.

PHILIP'S WAR.

PHILIP had not been seen by the English in any battle; nor was it ever certainly known, except on two or three occasions, where and how he was employed while the havoc that has been described was going on. Towards midsummer of the second year of the war, the English had intelligence that he was on his way back to the seat of his tribe. "A captive negro, the week before escaped from Philip," gave information that the chief was preparing to attack Taunton. And so it proved; but, the town having been reinforced meanwhile, the

1676. July 11. English, without loss to themselves, drove his followers into the woods. While strong parties, in search of him, scoured the country about

July 13. Mount Hope, the indefatigable Major Talcot captured sixty rovers in the Narragansett woods; and Pomham, the Narragansett who, thirty-three years before, had surrendered his lands to Massachusetts, but who had now assisted in the

July 25. massacre of the settlers, was overtaken by a party from Dedham and Medfield, and made prisoner, with fifty followers. The Nipmuck sagamore John presently came in and surren-

July 27. dered himself, with a hundred and eighty

companions. Engagements still took place in different quarters, but uniformly to the advantage of the English. The enemy was unsupplied, dispirited, without concert, and distressed. It was no longer a war, but a chase. Some Bridgewater men fell in with Philip. He escaped them, but with the loss of his uncle and ten other men killed, and his sister taken prisoner; and the pursuit was so active that "he threw away his stock of powder into the bushes that he might hasten his escape." July 30.

Captain Church was now close upon his track. On two successive days, Church captured a hundred and fifty of the sachem's people, among whom were his wife and son. Two days later, in a sharp engagement, in which several were killed, he made prisoners of forty more. In the same week, Weetamoo, squaw sachem of Pocasset, the widow of Philip's elder brother, and Philip's constant ally, was found drowned in Taunton River. She had attempted to pass over towards Mount Hope on a raft, which proved too slender. July 31. Aug. 1. Aug. 3.

With a small band of followers, Philip had come back to his ancient home. Holding the isthmus which was the only avenue for his escape by land, the English pressed him closer every day. One of his tribe, professing to have been offended by the murder of his brother, who was killed by Philip for advising submission, deserted to the English, and offered to guide them to the place of the sachem's

retreat. Church, when the news reached Rhode Island, hastened over to Bristol Neck, where he arrived at midnight. He marched a party to the neighborhood of the designated spot, and there, before dawn, they lay down in the bushes. When day broke, the Indians, perceiving themselves to be so closely beset, rushed from their hiding-place in a disorderly manner, under a heavy fire of those who stopped the way. At one of the points likely to be passed by the fugitives Church had stationed an Englishman and a friendly Indian named *Alderman*, who presently saw Philip approaching them, half dressed, and running at full speed. The Englishman's gun missed fire. The Indian's took effect, one bullet passing through the heart of the chief, and another lodging in his shoulder. "He fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him."

Aug. 12.

"When the English had drove the swamp through, and found the enemy had escaped, or at least the most of them, and the sun now up, and so the dew gone, that they could not so easily track them, the whole company met together at the place where the enemies' night shelter was, and then Captain Church gave them the news of Philip's death, upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas." Philip's hands were cut off, and carried to Boston. His head was brought to Plymouth, and there exposed upon a pole, on a day appointed for a public Thanksgiving.

Not many days afterwards, Church surprised and

captured a party, commanded by Annawon, one of Philip's captains, who had escaped with it when the sachem was killed. Tishaquin, another chief who had been active in the massacres, came in and surrendered himself. Numerous fugitives sought an asylum in Canada, and among the Mohawks. Virtually, the war in the country of the Pokanokets and of the Nipmucks was brought to an end. Aug 28

It raged longer, as it had begun later, in a different region, where, from the rough character of the English settlers, it may well be believed that the natives were not without frequent provocation. Intelligence of the outbreak of hostilities in Plymouth colony reached the eastern Indians, and made them restless. At length a party of them came to the farm of Thomas Purchas, at what is now Brunswick, and stole some household stores and arms, without, however, offering personal violence to the inmates. At Falmouth lived an old man named Wakely, with his family of nine persons. Some savages attacked and burned his house, and murdered him and his wife, with his son, his daughter-in-law, and three of his grandchildren. The remains of the old people and of their son and his wife were found in the ruins of the house. Those of the young mother had been shockingly mangled; of two of her children who were at the same time carried off, one was ransomed the next summer, the other was never heard of more. At Saco, at Scarborough, 1675. Sept. 5. Sept. 12.

at Wells, at Kittery, at Woolwich, and at other
Sept. 18. places, the natives committed depredations
Sept. 20. and butcheries. In three months, they killed eighty Englishmen between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec. Coming further westward, they marked their track with conflagration and murder at Oyster River, Berwick, Salmon Falls, Dover, and Exeter. The General Court of Massachusetts
Oct. sent commissioners instructed to take measures for a pacification, and at the same time to make arrangements for military operations, should these prove to be necessary in that quarter.
Dec. 10. A fall of snow, in depth four feet upon a level, was thought to have proved a serviceable peace-maker. Compelled to look to the larger English settlements for supplies of food, the eastern Indians were glad to make a treaty, in which they stipulated to restore their captives without compensation, and to conduct themselves peaceably in future.

They still complained of wrongs received at the hands of white men belonging to some of the ill-regulated settlements of that remote district; and they were discontented at being prohibited from freely purchasing supplies of powder and shot, which they represented to be necessary to them for the chase, but which it was not thought prudent to allow them to obtain without supervision and restraint. They continued quiet for the most part, nowever, till, when Philip's men were scattered during the weeks immediately preceding his death

and especially when that event occasioned the dispersion of his remaining followers and allies, some of these found their way beyond the Piscataqua, and excited there anew the passions of their countrymen. Falmouth was now attacked, and thirty-four persons were killed, or led away prisoners. At Stinson's Point (Woolwich), three persons were killed, and sixteen carried off. At Arrowsick, an island in the Kennebec, was a little fort of the English. The garrison were off their guard, not suspecting any enemy to be near. One evening, as a sentinel, without being relieved at his post outside of a gate, passed into the fort, he was closely followed by a party of Indians, who had stealthily approached the place, and been watching his movements. The English fought desperately; but the force which assailed them was overpowering. Thirty-five of them were either killed or made prisoners; about a third as many succeeded in making their escape. The planters further east now abandoned their homes; the Indians came in and burned them; and between Casco Bay and the Penobscot not an English settlement remained. At first, many of the fugitives took refuge at Monhegan and other islands. But even these posts were not thought safe, and were deserted as soon as means of transportation to Boston and the other populous towns could be found.

1676. Aug. 11

Aug. 13.

Aug. 13.

The government of Massachusetts, busy as it was with nearer dangers was not inattentive to

these proceedings. A force of a hundred and thirty English and forty friendly Indians was despatched to Dover, where it was to be met by as many troops from the neighboring towns as it was prudent to withdraw from their homes. Unfortunately, Major Waldron, of Dover, who, living almost within sight of the recent atrocities, may be supposed to have been peculiarly incensed against their authors, was in command of the English force, as Sergeant-Major of the County of York. His orders were to seize all Indians who had murdered Englishmen, or otherwise violated the recent treaty. Four hundred Indians, uninvited and without any guaranty of protection, came to Dover, professedly to treat. Waldron believed that — at least with a portion of them, who would not find it difficult to impart their purpose to the rest — this offer of negotiation was only a feint. Among them, if his information was trustworthy, were persons who had been intimate associates of Philip, and others who had been active in the infractions of the treaty. Between such, on the one hand, and innocent persons on the other, he could only discriminate by having the whole in his power; while not a few of his soldiers, driven to fury by the accounts which had reached their ears, clamored for leave to fall upon them without distinction.

In these circumstances, Waldron resorted to a stratagem, which, by no means belonging to the authorized deceptions of war, can only be justified by his knowledge — if such knowledge he had —

of the existence of a treacherous design on the other side. He proposed to the Indians to have a sham fight with them on the following day. It took place; and, in the course of it, at his bidding, they all discharged their muskets at once. No sooner had they done this, than the English, who had held their own fire, closed around them, and made them ground their arms. There was no bloodshed. Of the four hundred prisoners taken, one half were immediately discharged; about two hundred, considered to be identified as murderers of Englishmen, or violators of the treaty, were sent prisoners to Boston. Sept. 16.

The day after this transaction, a detachment of the English force, under the command of Captain Hathorne, proceeded by water to Falmouth, where they built a fort. While they remained there, a party of seven of them, separated from their friends, were encountered by the Indians, whom they resisted till every one of them fell. The next day, a remote settlement in Yorkshire was attacked; and, of forty persons, part were carried away, the rest were massacred with circumstances of shocking barbarity. Wells, Black Point, Scarborough, and other places, where some of the former inhabitants had collected, were again depopulated. When winter was about to set in, Captain Hathorne, having heard of a great Indian fort on Ossipee River, determined to attack it, and marched for that purpose with all his force. The expedition occupied two months. Part of the Sept. 23. Nov. 1.

time the troops had to make their way through deep snows, and rivers half frozen over (1677. Jan. 9.) And, after all, their fatigues were fruitless. The fort was found; but there was not an Indian in or near it.

Meanwhile, there had been another formal pacification. An Etetchemin chief, named Mugg, presented himself at Portsmouth to Major-General Denison, with credentials which were satisfactory to that officer. Mugg accordingly was sent to Boston, where he concluded with the Magistrates a treaty, of which the principal articles stipulated the cessation of hostilities, the restoration of prisoners and stolen property to the English, satisfaction for damages sustained by them, and a prohibition to the natives to purchase ammunition except of a person to be appointed by the Governor to sell it. (1676. Nov. 6.)

But so tardily and imperfectly were these engagements observed, as to create a persuasion that the Indians had intended only to secure a quiet winter, and would resume hostilities as soon as the spring should open. It was thought prudent to be in readiness to anticipate them; and a force of ninety Englishmen and sixty friendly Indians, under the command of Major Waldron, sailed from Boston for the Kennebec. Leaving half of his party at the mouth of that river to build a fort, Waldron proceeded with the rest to Pemaquid, where he appointed a meeting with some sachems. It was agreed that (1677. Feb. 7.) (Feb. 26.)

both parties should come to the interview unarmed. But, when they met, a quantity of lances was discovered lying in the Indian canoes. An altercation ensued, which was observed from the vessel from which Waldron had landed, and an armed party was despatched to his assistance. They killed ten of the Indians, and took four prisoners. Hopeless of an accommodation, the commander left forty men at the fort near the mouth of the Kennebec, and returned with the rest of his force to Boston. March 11.

His apprehensions were not unfounded. As soon as the weather permitted, the crazy marauders were abroad again. They intercepted a party belonging to the fort lately constructed by Major Waldron, and killed nine men. March 30. They shot seven men whom they found at work in a field, two miles from York. April 7. At Wells they murdered six or eight persons. April 13. At Black Point they were less successful; they killed three Englishmen, and carried off another to be tortured; but here they were repulsed with considerable loss, the distinguished sachem Mugg being one of those who fell. May 16. Returning to Wells and York, they renewed at those places their work of havoc. May 23. In a second affair near Black Point the enemy obtained a signal success. A party of ninety men, mostly from the Bay, fell into one of their ambuscades, and, after a vigorous resistance, was utterly defeated, with the loss of sixty of its number. Taking to their boats, the

natives surprised twenty fishing-vessels, mostly from Salem, which lay at anchor, feebly manned; they killed and wounded a number of the seamen, stripped the vessels, and then disappeared.

July.

In Yorkshire, some white inhabitants still held their ground; but the county of Devonshire was entirely deserted. Sir Edmund Andros, at New York, became apprehensive for the safety of his master's province of Cornwall. He sent a force to Pemaquid, to build and occupy a fort; and the officer in command entered into communication with the neighboring Indians, and procured the release of fifteen English captives.

August.

If the natives had obtained great successes in the eastern country, it had been at no little cost to themselves; and, unreflecting though they were, they could not fail, by this time, to be impressed with the resources and the perseverance of their enemy. In the spring, Squanto, Madockawando, and other chiefs of the tribes on the Androscoggin and the Kennebec, met at Casco three commissioners appointed by the government of Massachusetts, and entered into a treaty which may be regarded as the termination of this distressing war. They promised to surrender all their prisoners without ransom, and to refrain from further molestation of the settlers. On the other hand, it was stipulated, that, for every English family established in their country, they should receive annually a peck of corn.

1678. April 12.

Almost every settlement beyond the Piscataqua

had been laid in ashes. Between two hundred and fifty and three hundred Englishmen had been either killed or carried away captive, never to be heard of more. For the present, hostilities were at an end. But the Indians were by no means so effectually disabled in that region as in other parts of New England.

A recital of battles does not go far towards telling the history of this terrible war. It was a succession of ruthless ravages, on a large or a small scale. Outlying houses were fired by night, while their inmates slept. Husbandmen at their work, and women at the well, and travellers on the road, were shot down. Only in the large towns could an Englishman leave his door with safety. Every bush near it might hide a watchful marksman. The amount of distress that was endured cannot be set forth by a mere inventory of murders and pillages, of massacres and conflagrations, even could such a list be made complete. But a partial statement of that kind affords some basis for a conception of the awful reality. In Plymouth and Massachusetts there were eighty or ninety towns. Of these ten or twelve were wholly destroyed, and forty others were more or less damaged by fire, making together nearly two thirds of the whole number. Five or six hundred of the men of military age, one in every ten or twelve of the whole, were stealthily murdered, or fell in battle, or, becoming prisoners, were 'ost sight of forever, an unknown number of them being put to death with

horrible tortures. There was scarcely an English family in those two colonies that was not in mourning. Impoverishment was added to bereavement. In the first year of the war the sum of three thousand six hundred and ninety-two pounds had been contributed to it by twelve towns of Plymouth colony, the inhabitants of Dartmouth and Middleborough being excused from the assessment on account of their being reduced to destitution. At the termination of hostilities the debt which had been incurred by the colony is believed to have exceeded the value of the whole personal property of its people.

That by such experiences the colonists should have become intensely exasperated may well be supposed. Nor was a sense of enormous ingratitude on the part of the assailants without its influence, when the final conquerors in this terrible strife approached the question of the necessity for making such examples as should deter from a repetition of the outrages that had been perpetrated. Some of the hostile Indians who fell into their hands had treacherously violated the most solemn engagements; and the lives of such were esteemed to be justly forfeit, if considerations of prudence should exact that penalty. Wattascompanum, chief sachem of the Nipmucks, and a professed convert, had been the principal agent in seducing the Praying Indians at Hassanamissitt from their fidelity. He fell into the hands of the English and was tried, convicted, and executed at Boston

1676. June.

Captain Tom, a Praying Indian of Natick, having been intrusted with a command, not only deserted to the enemy, but persuaded some of his men to do the same. Being taken prisoner, he was hanged, notwithstanding the intercession of some of his native fellow-officers who had done well. Matoonas, the Nipmuck who began the war in Massachusetts by the attack on Mendon, was brought in by Sagamore John, and some other repentant Indians, who, on his being condemned to die, were permitted, at their own request, to execute the sentence by shooting. A fortnight after Philip's death, three Nipmuck chiefs were hanged at Boston; and, some weeks later, a Narragansett sachem, surrendered by some Rhode Islanders, was there shot. Tispaquin and Annawon, principal men of Philip's tribe, having fallen into Church's hands, were beheaded at Plymouth, to his great discontent. Of seven prisoners who were ascertained to have been of the party that set fire to the outpost in Plymouth, four were executed at that place. Many captives were sold to service among the conquerors, and many were transported to slavery in the West Indies. Of the two hundred prisoners taken by Waldron, at Dover, and sent to Boston under the charge of having violated the treaty of peace, seven, who, in pursuance of that perfidy, were ascertained to have taken life, were executed; the rest were sent to Bermuda to be there sold. And this latter is said to have been the fate of Philip's

June 26.

June 27.

Aug. 26.

Oct. 12.

son. It was a shocking way of disposing of the conquered barbarians. The selling of man, woman, or child to be a slave is a horrible act, though there was nothing to give it peculiar aggravation in the circumstance that one of the sufferers was the son of Philip.

On the other hand, when the danger seemed passed away, "the well-ordering and settlement of those Indians that remained and were under command" was taken into consideration as "a matter of great concernment to the peace and security of the country, and the welfare, civilizing, and education of the said Indians and their children;" and numbers of them, "Praying Indians, as well as others," were brought together in settlements of their own at Natick, Stoughton, Groton, and Chelmsford; while others were to "remain as servants" in English families, "to be taught and instructed in the Christian religion," the servitude of a portion of them being limited to the time when they should become twenty years of age.

1677. May.

The careful reader of the contemporaneous narratives of transactions of this period finds reason to distrust conceptions which have prevailed of both the policy and the character of Philip. To a lively imagination it has appeared, that, with considerate foresight, Philip took alarm at the prospect of the extirpation of his race and the occupation of their land by strangers; that, with a strenuous purpose, a capacity for political combination, and an aptness

for influencing the action of men, such as belong to minds of a high class, he slowly matured a conspiracy to rid the country of the English interloper by a united movement, and restore it to its ancient owners; that, though unlucky circumstances caused the rising to occur prematurely, this misadventure did not prevent him from carrying out the contest to its disastrous end with vigor and determination; and that his life and death deserve the eulogies which are fit to be bestowed on a brave and sagacious patriot.

But the public documents of the time do not indicate a belief, on the part of the English, of any such comprehensive and far-sighted scheme as in later times has been attributed to Philip. The natural conclusion from their language is, that his outbreak was but regarded as being prompted by the vindictiveness and caprice of an unreasoning and cruel barbarian. As to his supposed patriotic apprehension, that, unless timely resistance were made, his people would be crowded out of their country, the sagacity with which he has been generously decorated could not have failed to reveal to him the material facts already noticed, — that the country was capable of bearing a vastly larger population without obstruction to the habits of either civilized or savage men; that no portion of it had ever been appropriated by the strangers except by honest purchase from the former occupants; and that the condition of his people was immensely improved by the access obtained through their new

neighbors to conveniences hitherto unknown, and by the market opened for articles within their reach, but hitherto worthless to them, or of trifling value.

Nor is his supposed jealousy of the territorial extension of the English to be easily reconciled with his frequent voluntary sales of land to them, or with his knowledge of the strictness with which they had guarded his rights in this particular. Nor does the opinion of a concert established by him with the chiefs of other tribes accord well with various unquestionable facts that followed. If a war had been so elaborately concerted by a man of sense, it is scarcely to be believed that it would have been entered on without a competent supply of munitions; yet, when Philip came from Mount Hope into Massachusetts, "his men were about thirty of them armed with guns, the rest had bows and arrows;" and he said that he could not have defended himself, had he been pressed a few days more at Pocasset, for "his powder was almost spent." If the Nipmucks were pledged in such a plot as has been imagined, a runner from Mount Hope would have reached their central holds in much less than a summer's day; nor can it be supposed, that, in that case, Brookfield, lying wholly at their mercy, would have been let alone for six weeks, or that the assault on the unprotected towns along Connecticut River would have been delayed for more than two months, till there had been time to reinforce them from the seaboard. The Narragansetts had been restless from the earliest period

of the acquaintance of the English with them. That they should plot against the English was at no time unlikely; but it was highly improbable that they should yield the lead in such a movement to the Wampanoag, Philip. If they were parties to a conspiracy, the beginning of Philip's war, when their force was unimpaired, when the season was favorable for their operations, and when the English were surprised, was the time for them to strike. Their conduct is intelligible on the supposition of a hostile and treacherous disposition on their part, encouraged and excited to action by the disasters of the English in the first autumn of the war; but that, if any movement had been deliberately resolved upon, they should have deferred it till their intended victim was warned and armed, and should have waited to be attacked at every disadvantage, is a statement that passes belief. Almost as difficult is it to imagine, that the savages about the Piscataqua, who could also have been reached between sun and sun by a message from the Pokanoket country, were in league with Philip before he struck, when we find, that, with every advantage for mischief, their first movement was nearly two months later than Philip's, and that their most vigorous operations took place after his death. It may be reasonably believed that their action, as well as that of the Nipmucks, was independent of the action of Philip and his tribe, except only so far as example, and the hope of impunity by reason of the embarrassment of the English, assailed in

so many quarters at once, were an excitement to minds always ready for murder and pillage, when not restrained by fear.

Connecticut had bravely, and most usefully, borne her large share of service and of cost. But her settlements had not been violated by the enemy. The Mohegans and Pequots within her bounds had proved faithful as heretofore. Among the rumors of the time was one that Philip visited the Mohawks on the Hudson, and endeavored to bring them into an alliance; but, if he made the attempt, it proved ineffectual. Rhode Island sent no troops to the war; but, of its two towns on the main-land, Warwick was destroyed, and a large part of Providence; and considerable expense was incurred in guarding the insular settlements. The misery fell chiefly on Plymouth and Massachusetts. The latter colony, in its wealth and numbers, had a strong recuperative power. The former was nearly ruined. But a community capable, in such circumstances, of such action as that of Plymouth, is no subject for commiseration. By years of steady industry and pinching frugality she paid her enormous debt, principal and interest. New England never learned the doctrine of "repudiation."

Relief, to the amount of nearly a thousand pounds, for such as were "impoverished, distressed, and in necessity by the late war," was contributed by "divers Christians in Ireland." The colonies had been defending what, if it was their own home, still was recognized at court as a de

pendence and domain of the King of England. But from the King and court came no aid whatever. Nor was any aid solicited, oppressive as was the need of it. "It is not altogether groundlessly reported," wrote their friend, Lord Anglesey, from London, "that you are poor and yet proud." It is not difficult to satisfy one's self as to the reason of their silence in such extremity. The memory of the visit of the Royal Commissioners was still fresh; more recent events, hereafter to be related, had kept alive their solicitude about the repetition of such attempts; and they preferred to struggle alone under their load, rather than come under obligations to a power which, as they believed, entertained designs unfriendly to their English liberties.

In fact, those liberties were again in serious peril. The task of the patriotic rulers of Massachusetts, who, twelve years before, had discomfited the emissaries of Lord Clarendon, was about to be forced on them anew. Two men, who — the one consciously, the other with no unfriendly purpose — had helped to dissipate the strength which might now have stood New England in stead, were not to see the ripening of the harvest which their hands had sown. While Rhode Island, by day and night, was kept against the prowling savages by a circle of patrol boats constantly in motion, the long and restless life of John Clarke was there brought to an end. Clarke had some claim to be called the father of Rhode Island. For many years before

1676. April 20.

his death he had been the most important citizen of his colony. Savage, Aspinwall, Hutchinson, and others, fellow-sufferers with him in the Antinomian revolt, had reconsidered the occasion of their discontent, and gone back to become peaceable and useful citizens of Massachusetts. Coddington and Williams had been long ago eclipsed by his more steady star. And both Williams and Coddington, eccentric as in different ways they were, were men of placable temper. The factious people to whom Clarke adhered never trusted him with their highest office, nor would they so much as pay him the money so well earned by his activity in their behalf at the British court. But the shortcomings of Rhode Island he could forgive; the power and policy of Massachusetts were not to be borne with, nor to fail to be resisted by him at all times, with all determination.

John Winthrop, of Connecticut, died a fortnight before Clarke, while on a visit to Boston to attend a meeting of the Federal Commissioners, just before the end of the first year of the war. His character was of a different mould from that of the vindictive champion of Rhode Island; but, to a considerable extent, circumstances combined the influence of the two on the political destiny of New England. Each had an agency in loosing that union, which, while it lasted, made New England a power in the world. It is no more than just to believe that Winthrop went to England after the Restoration without a purpose to wrong New

April 5.

Haven, or to weaken the Confederacy of the four colonies. In England, where his estimable and winning qualities were at once recognized, he was caressed and petted by men who did not love his adopted country as he did, or who, at all events, did not see its vital interests and honor in the light in which they were regarded by her own wisest sons. Lord Manchester, Lord Anglesey, Lord Hollis, and other Puritan nobles, who had become courtiers as the best thing that was to be done in those evil times, were willing to patronize New England, but only with circumspection and reserve. The aged Lord Say and Sele, the early patron of the suitor from Connecticut, had had enough of opposition to the King; and he had no partiality for the colony of New Haven, which had been erected, without leave asked, on land of which he claimed to be a proprietor by royal grant. Robert Boyle, and the academicians over whom he presided, conferred the signal honor of election to their Society on the philosopher from beyond the water; and Boyle made no secret of his opinion that his New England friends would do well to be tractable and quiet. Lord Clarendon, whose scheme of colonial policy was ripe, saw his opportunity to practise on the amiable envoy; and the blandishments of that courtly though arbitrary statesman were not easy to withstand. It is not safe for the most upright man to receive flattering attentions from those whose political designs he ought not to favor.

It is by no means always to ill intentions, or to general incapacity, on the part of important actors, that political errors and disasters are to be traced. If the influences to which Winthrop was subjected in England confused his perceptions of a patriot's duty, there is no proof that they ever tempted him to do a conscious wrong. It is fair to suppose that he was brought to see or believe that an annexation of New Haven to Connecticut was the best provision attainable by him for the well-being of both colonies. But to New Haven the measure could not be expected to appear otherwise than as a gross outrage, aggravated by the engagements that were made by him during his absence and after his return. He honestly desired to make the calamity as little afflicting as possible to the aggrieved colony. But the power had gone from him. The signed and sealed charter, that doomed New Haven, had passed from his hands into hands stronger and less dainty. His gentle genius bent before the coarser and more resolute spirit of the Secretary, John Allyn. While, as to external politics, Bellingham, Leverett, and Danforth, rather than Winthrop, represented in the reign of Charles the Second the intelligent patriotism of New England, Allyn, more than he, was ruler of Connecticut. It was not the way of Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, to admit any such contro as in the sister colony was exercised by the able and determined Secretary.

Plymouth was poor and weak, and coveted a

charter from the King, like that with which he had obliged and won Connecticut. Massachusetts desired no favor from him but neglect, and had received no favor to attach her by ties of gratitude. But, for Massachusetts alone, the conflict with him that was always imminent was too unequal. The possibility — if the unity of New England had remained intact — of a Dutch alliance, when England was corrupt, priest-ridden and distracted, and Holland was strong and severely Protestant; the possibility of a healthy revival of the patriot party in the parent country, had there been in New England, as formerly, a Puritan confederacy unanimous and robust, — such are conceptions that swim in the brain of the commentator of the present day. But the Confederacy was no more; and with it seemed to have departed the chance of resistance to royal usurpation. The wasting Indian war intervened, and with its miseries seemed to settle the question. Whether there could be further opposition to the oppressive designs of the English court, and, if so, what degree of energy might inspire it, would be for later times to make known.

CHAPTER VI.

RENEWED DISPUTE WITH ENGLAND.

It has been mentioned that the calamities of New England in the conflict with the Indian tribes obtained little compassion in the mother country. This was not the worst. The time of the miserable distress of New England was seized upon by the counsellors of King Charles to deal a destructive blow to her representative colony.

For nearly ten years after the frustrate attempt of Lord Clarendon to reduce Massachusetts to subjection, there had been almost a suspension of political relations between New England and the parent country. More pressing political concerns prevented a vigorous renewal of the enterprise But the home government had never wholly abandoned it, and an embarrassment in the way of prosecuting it was removed when peace was made with the Dutch.

1674.

After the fall of Lord Clarendon from power, the Council for Foreign Plantations was three times reconstructed within a little more than two years. Still the arrangement was found unsatisfactory, and the Council was dissolved, the ancient practice being resumed of managing the busi-

1670. July 30.
1671. April
1672. Sept. 16.
1675. March 12.

ness of plantations by a standing committee of the Privy Council, called "The Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations."

When the Privy Council turned its attention to New England, its first action was professedly prompted by a desire to do justice to the pretensions of Ferdinando Gorges and Robert Mason. These persons had not suffered their claims to sleep, though, after the peaceable settlement of the towns in New Hampshire and Maine under the government of Massachusetts, their complaints obtained little attention at court. Their prospect brightened, when, associating with themselves Lord Stirling, heir of the patentee of Nova Scotia, they presented to the King a memorial, in which they proposed to surrender to him their respective patents, on condition of having secured to them "one third part of all the customs, rents, fines, and other profits which should be made in the said province, or such other reasonable compensation in lieu thereof as his Majesty should see fit." March 20.

There was another party, hostile to Massachusetts, whose aid in furthering the unfriendly designs of the court was of much more importance than any which could be contributed by the claimants of Eastern New England. The merchants and manufacturers of England were irritated by the evasion of the Navigation Laws which was said to be practised in the New England colonies, and especially in Massachusetts, whose commercial

importance was now highly estimated. By those laws the exportation of various colonial staples was forbidden, except from the place of production to some English port; and in their import trade the colonists were restricted to a direct commerce with England, being forbidden to bring the products, not only of England, but of any European country, from any except English ports, or in any but English vessels. The evasion of these laws had been for several years a subject of discontent to the English merchants. A petition of a number of them was presented to the King, praying for a strict enforcement of the regulations.

At what appears to have been their first meeting, the Lords of the Committee resolved to pray the King to send five commissioners to Massachusetts, to endeavor to arrange its affairs to the satisfaction of the court. "In case they [the colonists] should decline his Majesty's overtures, and appear refractory," the Lords judged "that his Majesty should take the advantage of the law against them, and they must expect to find all the stop and interruption upon their trade which by the Acts of Navigation might be given therein." At the same time, they directed the law officers of the crown to examine the claims presented in the recent petitions of Mason and Gorges. The lawyers reported that Mason had "a good and legal title to the lands conveyed [to his grand father by the Council for New England] by the

May 17.

name of the Province of New Hampshire;" and that Gorges had "a good title to the Province of Maine."

Matters now approached a crisis. The Lords of the Committee presented to the King in Council the fruit of their deliberations on the claims of Mason and Gorges. Avowing their doubts whether royal commissioners sent to Massachusetts would be received with respect, they advised that copies of the claimants' petitions should be despatched to that colony, and that it should be required, within a specified time, to send over agents "to receive his Majesty's determination in the matter." The recommendation was adopted by the Privy Council, and the time allowed for agents to appear was fixed at six months. Dec. 20.

Thus empowered, the Lords of the Committee resumed their arrangements. But it was with timid circumspection. "As to the circular letters for New England," they judged that "there ought to be prepared such a draught as was probable those people would bear;" and "their Lordships entered into a long debate whether this particular time was proper for the sending of circular letters into New England." But on a comparison of opinions they took heart again, and "did agree that this was the conjuncture to do something effectual for the better regulation of that government, or else all hopes of it might be hereafter lost." 1676. Jan. 21. March 20

The "conjuncture" was manifestly a favorable

one. The Dutch, who might have encouraged the colonies to resist, were not only no longer enemies to England, but they had their hands full with their desperate war with France. Still more, the colonists were disabled by their struggle with the Indians, which was now at its most critical point. The movement against them was promptly followed up. It was resolved to transmit the King's demands by a special messenger, who should be also charged with the duty of making minute inquiries into the condition of the country, and reporting the result to the home government. This arrangement brings to view for the first time a person who for the next fifteen years makes a conspicuous figure in the history of New England. The agent selected to do the royal errand was Edward Randolph, of whose earlier life and position nothing is known, except that he was a relation of Robert Mason. It was perhaps through Mason's interest that he was invested with this important trust. He soon proved himself so capable and active, and so devoted to the purposes of the court, that the court valued him for his own sake.

Randolph sailed immediately for Boston, where, "after a tedious passage of ten weeks," he arrived, to find the attention of the government occupied with the Indian war. He waited on Governor Leverett, announced "the cause of his coming," and desired, "that, with what convenient speed might be, the Magistrates might be assembled to hear his Majesty's letter read." The

March 30.

June 10.

Governor told him that he could present himself to the Magistrates on the afternoon of the same day, as they were then to meet on other business. At the time appointed, he was "admitted into the Council," where he found the Governor, with the Secretary, and six other Magistrates. He handed the King's letter to the Governor, who desired him to be seated. The Governor broke the seal, and reading the words, "By his Majesty's command, Henry Coventry," asked Randolph who Coventry might be, and was informed that he was the King's principal Secretary of State.

Leverett then read the letter aloud. In it the King acquainted the Magistrates with the representations that had been made to him in memorials of Gorges and Mason, of which he transmitted copies. The King said that he had accordingly determined to require the colony to send agents to answer to these charges; and he commanded that Randolph should be admitted to the Council of the Magistrates to hear his letter read, and that he should bring back their answer. During the reading, three of the Magistrates, following Randolph's example, "put off their hats, and sat uncovered; but the Governor, with the rest, continued to keep their hats on." The reading being finished, "the Governor told the Council that the matters therein contained were very inconsiderable things, and easily answered, and it did in no way concern that government to take any notice thereof." Randolph said that he had the King's

order to require an answer, and to wait for it one month. "The Governor answered that they should consider of those things;" and the envoy withdrew.

While the Magistrates "considered," Randolph bestirred himself in endeavors to stimulate a local faction. He delivered letters with which he had been furnished by Mason to "several of the most eminent inhabitants of Boston," who, he reported, "received him with much kindness, expressed great loyalty to his Majesty," and accommodated him by circulating information concerning his errand, which gave "great pleasure and satisfaction" to the King's well-wishers. Meanwhile, he was embarrassed, on his own part, by "a report, which seemed artificially raised to amuse and distract the people, about domestic troubles in England."

The Magistrates, after two days' consideration, resolved to return their thanks to the King for his "gracious letter," and to send a further answer to it by a vessel about to sail for London.

June 15. They called in Randolph, and told him, that, if he proposed to take passage in that vessel, they would intrust to him the letter which they had prepared to one of the Secretaries of State; otherwise, he could have a duplicate of it whenever he should be ready to depart. He said that he "had other matters of concern under his charge, and should not return so soon; and withal asked them if they had well considered of his Majesty's letter and the enclosed petition in so short a time, and

concluded on their agents, and the time of their going for England." The Governor, without answering the question, inquired whether he "had anything further to offer them" from the King. Randolph replied that he had nothing; and the Governor said only "that he looked upon him as Mr. Mason's agent," and then bowed him out of the council-chamber.

The next day, Randolph went to visit the Governor at his house, and formally complained of the infractions which he had already observed of the Acts of Navigation. He had seen "several ships that were arrived at Boston, some since his being there, from Spain, France, Straits, Canaries, and other parts of Europe." The Governor's reply must be given in Randolph's own words. He may not have expressed himself with quite the freedom that is represented; but it is probable that the reporter did not greatly misunderstand or misstate his language. "He freely declared to me," Randolph wrote, "that the laws made by your Majesty and your Parliament obligeth them in nothing but what consists with the interest of that colony; that the legislative power is and abides in them solely to act and make laws by virtue of a charter from your Majesty's royal father; and that all matters in difference are to be concluded by their final determination, without any appeal to your Majesty; and that your Majesty ought not to retrench their liberties, but may enlarge them if your Majesty please; and said your Majesty had

confirmed their charter and all their privileges by your Majesty's letter of the 28th of June, 1662, and that your Majesty could do no less in reason than let them enjoy their liberties and trade, they having, upon their own charge, and without any contribution from the crown, made so large a plantation in the wilderness."

At the end of the second week of his stay in Boston, Randolph wrote to the Governor, reminding him of the King's demand for agents to be sent to England, and advising him to call a General Court to settle that business. He proposed to wait a fortnight longer for the decision of the Court, and to be the bearer of their reply to the King. To this the Governor answered, rebuking him for the disrespectful abruptness of his behavior, and repeating, that, when he was ready to go back to England, he might have a duplicate of the letter which the Council had already despatched.

June 23.

June 26.

Randolph next turned his attention to "New Hampshire," as he called it, comprehending under that name the country between the Naumkeag and the Piscataqua, according to the largest interpretation of his friend's patent. He "travelled through several of the most considerable towns," and, announcing his business, was received — so he reported — with a cordial welcome. He found "the whole country complaining of the oppression and usurpation of the Magistrates of Boston." At Portsmouth, "several of the principal in

July.

habitants of the Province of Maine, belonging unto Mr. Gorges, ... came unto him, making the same complaints with those of New Hampshire." At Boston, on his return to that place, an invitation to Plymouth awaited him from Governor Winslow. With Winslow, whom he found "a gentleman of loyal principles," he had gratifying converse. The Governor "expressed his great dislike of the carriage of the Magistrates of Boston to his Majesty's royal person and his subjects under their government," and went so far as to "say that New England could never be secure, flourish, nor be serviceable to his Majesty, until the several colonies and plantations were reduced under his Majesty's immediate government;" an arrangement to which he assured his new friend "that the colonies of New Plymouth and Connecticut would readily and willingly submit."

During his stay in New England, Randolph satisfied himself, not only of the promising state of sentiment in the smaller colonies, but that, even "at Boston, the principal inhabitants, some whereof were the chief officers of the militia, and the generality of the people, complained of the arbitrary government and oppression of their Magistrates, and did hope his Majesty would be pleased to free them from this bondage by establishing his own royal authority among them, and govern them according to his Majesty's laws."

The time that Randolph had been ordered to wait for an answer from Massachusetts having

expired, he "went to the Governor for his despatches." That impracticable magistrate
July 20. "entertained him with a sharp reproof for publishing the substance of his errand into those parts, ... telling him that he designed to make a mutiny and disturbance in the country, and to withdraw the people from their obedience to the magistracy of the colony and the authority thereof." The emissary received a duplicate of the letter which had been sent a month before to Secretary Coventry; and, having been desired to assure the King that the English in Massachusetts "were a people truly fearing the Lord, and very obedient to his Majesty," he, in a discourteous letter, took his leave for the present, and soon afterwards sailed for England.

When he was gone from Massachusetts, and there had been time for the people to bethink themselves, it was fit that the Governor should move. The old soldier of Cromwell understood when forcible action would be rash, as well as when it would be effective. No man was less ignorant of the policy of argument and delay. He convoked a General Court, and told them that the occasion of their being summoned was "the receipt of a letter from his Majesty, etc." The Court chose to consider
Aug. 9. the pending agitation as arising simply out of "the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason about the extent of the patent line;" and being acquainted that many of the reverend elders were in town, they agreed and sent the marshal to

them to say that they desired their presence and advice" upon the question "whether the most expedient way of making answer to the complaints . . . . were by sending agents or attorneys to answer the same, or to answer by writing only." The elders deliberated, and gave their advice, that, for several reasons, one of which was to avoid an appearance of "contempt of his Majesty's commands," the "expedient way" was to appoint "agents to appear and make answer by way of information at this time and in this case; provided they were with utmost care and caution qualified as to their instructions, by and according unto which they might negotiate that affair with safety unto the country, and with all duty and loyalty unto his Majesty in the preservation of the patent liberties." The advice does not appear to have been approved, or it was thought best to take more time for consideration and for reconciling opinions; for a committee, consisting of the Magistrates Bradstreet, Stoughton, the young Joseph Dudley, and the Secretary, Rawson, with five Deputies, was directed to "draw up an address to his Majesty," with "a letter and instructions to some meet persons in England," who should "deliver the same to his Majesty accordingly, and appear and make answer by way of information, as the case might require." The Court proceeded to despatch various affairs of common business, and then adjourned for a month.

At the next session, the committee presented

their draught of an "humble petition and address of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in General Court assembled, to the King's most excellent Majesty." It began with a brief reference to the distresses which the colony had suffered in its war with the natives, and to the victory which had recently crowned its arms. A prospect had opened, the memorialists said, of "calmness and composedness" in their public affairs, when the war broke out afresh in the eastern country, and at the same time a groundless and vexatious controversy was thrust upon them respecting the rightfulness of their authority over those eastern settlements of the King's subjects which they were straining every nerve to protect. They were, however, "most willing, in observance of his Majesty's commands, ... to offer their pleas and produce their evidences in this matter;" evidences which they esteemed to be "such as would abundantly clear up their right to those eastern parts to be undoubted, according to the plain intent and necessary sense of the words of their patent, and sufficiently make it appear that their administrations of government there had been noways derogatory to his Majesty's honor, nor prejudicial to his royal interest in this wilderness, but many ways beneficial, as also satisfactory to the inhabitants, his Majesty's subjects, upon that place." They protested that "no intention of wrong to the claimers, no unlawful desigr of enlargement of their borders, no profit or advan-

Sept. 6.

tage thereby accruing (the contrary whereto they had hitherto found), but a grounded apprehension of their interest, real compassion to the petitioning inhabitants, in an unsettled and suffering condition, together with a sense of duty incumbent to be faithful to their patent trust, did cause them to receive those inhabitants under the wing of his Majesty's government in this colony established. The further management of their defence" they had intrusted to two agents "for whom, as for themselves, with most humble prostration, they begged his Majesty's countenance and favor."

The form of address was adopted, and Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Peter Bulkley were appointed to present it. Stoughton, a rich bachelor, now about forty-five years old, was son of the stern and somewhat factious soldier of the Pequot war. He had been educated for the ministry, but had never assumed a cure, and had now been in the magistracy five or six years. Bulkley was son of the able and generous-minded minister of Concord. Though ten years younger than his associate in the agency, he was Speaker of the House of Deputies. In the parties which in these dangerous times had begun to take their elementary shape in Massachusetts, Stoughton, enforced by his arbitrary temperament and influenced by the instincts of wealth, was understood to be indulgent to the pretensions of the crown; while Bulkley, sustaining more popular relations, was then believed — though the expectations entertained of him were

not ultimately realized — to be devoted to the local traditions, and to be disposed to stand firm for the integrity of the charter. It was probably thought prudent that both styles of thought should be represented in the agency in England, and that the facility of Stoughton should conciliate and qualify, while the sagacity and firmness of Bulkely should watch and protect. But if such was the calculation, the result did not justify it. Bulkely acted no independent part while engaged in this service; and in later times he made himself discreditably conspicuous as a prerogative man.

The case of the colony against the claimants was argued in a paper intrusted to the agents for delivery to the King. It bore the title of "A brief Declaration of the right and claim of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England to the lands now in their possession, but pretended to by Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason." After a short account of the transactions relating to the eastern country of Massachusetts, as they have been detailed in this work, the memorialists proceeded at length to prove their right by patent, and to show how satisfactory and beneficial the exercise of their government in the disputed territory had been, and how advantageous for the King.

The agents were also furnished with letters to the two Secretaries of State, and with two sets of "Orders and Instructions." In one of these latter papers, they were directed to inform the King that they were sent "to give his Maj-

Sept. 16.

esty satisfaction concerning the rights of the patent, ... in answer to the pretensions and accusations of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason." They were to confine themselves to this service; and "to all other clamors and accusations" they were to answer that they had "no order nor instruction." If occasion should arise, they were "then humbly to crave his Majesty's favor for time for a further answer from hence." They were to send home reports of their doings by every conveyance, and to come back as soon as possible.

The other set of instructions was for the most part the same, but it also contained some confidential matter. The agents were to advise with the Earl of Anglesey, and other friends of the colony in England. They were to "represent to the King and Council the inconsiderableness and small worth of those eastern parts;" but, "notwithstanding, if they found a sum of money would take them [Gorges and Mason] off from further prosecution of their pretensions, ... and that that might be a final issue, they should engage in that way as their discretion should direct."

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUED DISPUTE WITH ENGLAND.

In England the agents of Massachusetts found the minds of the courtiers prepossessed by the erroneous and unfriendly representations of Randolph, who had arrived there three months before them. There was now in the parent country no organized body friendly to New England. The country party was in the ascendant; but with that party, led by Lord Danby, English Puritans were in so little credit, that, far from being able to protect their sympathizers on the other side of the water, they were living in constant dread of being themselves subjected to all the severity of the persecution which was raging against their fellow Non-conformists, the Catholics.

The agents presented to the Privy Council a memorial, in which they set forth, that, after diligent search "in the Chapel of the Rolls, as in other offices," they had been unable to find a record of the alleged grants to Mason and Gorges. They therefore prayed that an order should issue to those claimants to furnish them with copies of the papers on which they relied. Five months more passed, when, after listening to

1677. Jan. 10.

"a representation from Edward Randolph, employed by his Majesty concerning several matters relating to the state of New England and the government thereof, his Majesty was pleased to order in Council that the said representation be referred to the Right Honorable the Lords Committees of this Board for Trade and Plantations, to consider of the same, and to take the opinion of such of his Majesty's judges as they should think fit concerning such heads of the said representation as related to matters of law." The Lords of the Committee presently came to an important conclusion. June 8.

They reported to the Council, that, reserving their judgment upon some matters of Randolph's representation till the law Lords should have pronounced their opinion, they had no hesitation as to advising the King that Massachusetts had broken the laws of Trade and Navigation, and "that the said government should not only receive notice of his Majesty's pleasure that the said acts be duly executed, but that the Right Honorable the Lord Treasurer should appoint such officers of the customs at Boston and other parts of New England as the said acts did prescribe, for the better observation thereof." June 12.

The judges (Rainsford, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and North, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas) were scarcely less prompt. "We," they wrote, "having considered these matters, do humbly conceive . . . . that

the patent of 4 Car. I. is good, notwithstanding the grant made in 18 Jac.; for it appeared to us by the recital in the patent 4 Car. I. that the Council of Plymouth had granted away all their interest in the lands the year before, and it must be presumed that they then deserted the government; whereupon it was lawful and necessary for the King to establish a suitable frame of government according to his royal wisdom, which was done by that patent of 4 Car. I. *making the Adventurers a corporation upon the place.*" They gave their judgment, that neither Maine nor New Hampshire was included within the chartered limits of Massachusetts; that the government of Maine belonged to the heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and that the government of New Hampshire had never been granted to John Mason, and was not lawfully vested in his heir. As to rights of soil in those territories the judges declared themselves not prepared to decide.

July 17. The judgment was adopted by the Lords of the Committee, and, on their report, was approved by the Privy Council. The Council ap-

July 18. pointed a day for hearing the parties, and,

July 20. after the hearing, referred the whole matter back again to their Committee.

This Board, having "debated the business of

July 27. New England, and the necessity of bringing those people under a more palpable declaration of their obedience to his Majesty and dependence on his crown," again summoned the agents, and announced to them, — 1. That as to jurisdic-

tion, their constituents must henceforward "confine themselves to such bounds and limits as had been lately reported by the judges;" 2. That as to their pretended "property of the soil in the Province of Maine," the King would have scrutiny made, but they would do well to retract an intimation "very rashly and inadvertently made by their counsel when they last appeared," of "abandoning the defence of that province, in case their authority to govern was set by;" 3. That as to their "presuming to coin money, ... they must solicit his Majesty's pardon for the offence that was past;" 4. "That the Act of Navigation . . . . . must for the future be looked after and religiously observed;" 5. "That as to their laws, ... there were great faults observed in some of them, wherein they must expect change or reformation;" 6. That as to what they had said of their defect of powers, "his Majesty did not think of treating with his own subjects as with foreigners, and to expect the formality of powers," but "to do all things that were fit for them and consistent with his own service," and that it would be well for them "from time to time to intimate the same to their principals." They were then dismissed for a week, after being further informed "that his Majesty would not destroy their charter, but rather, by a supplementary one, to be given to them, set all things right that were now amiss."

At the next discussion of the subject, "Mr. Attorney did, according to order, read a catalogue

of those laws, passed by the government of New England, which were repugnant to the laws of this kingdom. The like list was sent in by Mr. Solicitor with very little alteration; and their Lordships found very much reason to advise his Majesty to write unto New England for the abolishing all those laws. And the Attorney did acquaint their Lordships that the agents of New England, with whom he had spoken, were in a manner ashamed of them, only as to that concerning the observation of the Lord's day they seemed somewhat tenacious." The Committee "took notice," that, notwithstanding "his Majesty's letter of 1662, requiring that any who should exercise their religion according to the Church of England might be free therein, and equally qualified with others for any office, ... yet that the practice had all along been quite otherwise, and as before. And also, complaint being urged touching the principles and discourses of the present Governor, Mr. Leverett, with Mr. Randolph when there, savoring of very little obedience to his Majesty, their Lordships did deliberate upon it as a point importing much to his Majesty's service, that no Governor there to be chosen should be established and confirmed without his Majesty's approbation. Some of the Lords added, that not only his Majesty's approbation, but commission, was requisite; but this was thought at present unseasonable."

Aug. 2.

The agents were called in again, and told that the King expected a repeal of al laws in force

among their constituents repugnant to the laws of England; that "the practice touching preferment of church-members ran contrary to the law they had made;" and that "they should receive an officer of the customs, to see the Act of Navigation, in his Majesty's behalf, fully conformed unto." They were further rebuked for the "levying of money on the King's subjects who trafficked with them, over whom they had not the same power as over the members of their own corporation." And they were "directed to attend Mr. Attorney-General" for information respecting his objections to their laws, and respecting "the model of such a pardon as they stood in need of from his Majesty for their coining of money without authority." Here the business was suspended for the present, except so far as that the agents put in a petition for leave to retain the four New Hampshire towns under the government of Massachusetts. Sept. 6.

The agents sent home information of the plight in which they found themselves. The General Court was in session when their letters arrived. Without a day's delay after the notice of "his Majesty's expectation that the Acts of Trade and Navigation be exactly and punctually observed by this his Majesty's colony," an order was passed requiring all masters of vessels arriving or departing "to yield faithful and constant obedience unto, and observation of, all the said Acts of Navigation and Trade," and instructing the Governor Oct. 10.

and all inferior magistrates "to see to the strict observation of the said Acts." The Court sent to
Oct. 22. the agents a letter of approval of their conduct, and with it a petition of the four New Hampshire towns to be permitted to remain under the government of Massachusetts. And they transmitted an address of thanks to the King for his gracious reception of their messengers. With it they sent letters, composed partly of compliment and partly of argument, to the Lord Chancellor (Lord Shaftesbury), the Lord Privy Seal (Lord Anglesey), and Coventry and Williamson, Secretaries of State.

On receiving the petition of the New Hampshire
1678. towns, the agents renewed their solicitations
Jan. 23. to the Privy Council for that arrangement as to the organization of those settlements which was so desired both by the existing local government and by the governed. Mason presently in-
March 25. formed the Lords of the Committee that he had been approached with an application, which hitherto he had resisted, to sell his patent to Massachusetts. He at the same time communicated the confounding intelligence that a similar application to Gorges had been successful, and that the bargain had actually been completed. This was true. Massachusetts had outwitted the King He was intending to buy Maine of Gorges, as an endowment for his favorite though troublesome son, the Duke of Monmouth. But he was not apt to have ready money, and he was not quick

enough for the wakeful colony. Its broker, John Usher, the Boston merchant, had come to London, and paid Gorges the sum of twelve hundred and fifty pounds for his patent; and the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay had become, by purchase, lord paramount of Maine. 1677. May 6.

This measure boded no favor to the colony on the part of the Lords of the Committee, when next they should enter on a consideration of its affairs. Randolph goaded them with persevering hate. Andros, who was now in England, was no favorable witness. The Quakers, too, were again in the field. When, in the agony of the Indian war, the General Court of Massachusetts had undertaken to search out the causes of wrath and defection. a mistaken lenity to the Quakers was judged to be one of them; and laws were passed making any ship-master who should land them liable to a fine of at least twenty pounds, and forbidding attendance upon their assemblies under a penalty of imprisonment in the house of correction for three days, on a diet of bread and water. This was a great mitigation of the former severity of their treatment; but it served to bring their brethren in England again to the foot of the throne in their behalf.

Under such influences, the Lords of the Committee proceeded with their business. They were stimulated "very much to resent that no more notice was taken in New England of those points which were so fairly and with so much soft 1678. April 8.

ness intimated to the agents;" and they were "so far from advising his Majesty immediately to grant a pardon, much less the accession of government in the country claimed by Mr. Mason, which they petitioned for, that they were of opinion that this whole matter ought seriously to be considered from the very root. . . . . Some of the Lords inclined to think that nothing but the establishment of a Governor there would accomplish" the desired object of submission to the King's authority, "all agreeing that it must be a Governor wholly to be supported and maintained by his Majesty. . . . . But, forasmuch as to enable their Lordships to advise his Majesty in this great affair it would first be necessary to know how far his Majesty was at liberty to do herein what his service might require, therefore Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General were directed to examine and report the grounds of what had sometime been objected before them:—

"1. That the people of Massachusetts colony have not any legal charter at all.

"2. Next, that, by reason of several irregularities, there was, about the year 1635, a *quo warranto* brought for the dissolution of such charter as they had, the prosecution whereof went far, and stopped only on account of the public troubles ensuing.

"3. And lastly, supposing that the said charter were originally good, their Lordships desired to know whether the corporation had, by maladministration of the powers, or otherwise, forfeited the

same, so as to be at his Majesty's mercy and disposal."

In the preceding autumn the General Court of Massachusetts had made an order "that the law . . . . . requiring all persons, as well inhabitants as strangers, that have not taken it, to take the oath of fidelity to the country, be revised and put in practice throughout the jurisdiction." This proceeding had now come to Randolph's knowledge, and provided him with an effectual topic of complaint. He sent in a memorial averring that the oath had been imposed on persons loyal to the King, and therefore disinclined to that engagement, and praying, that, by a ship just about to sail, an order might be sent for the protection of loyal men in New England, who should refuse to take the oath, or who were friendly to him during his stay in that country, or who had corresponded with him since. "The agents endeavored to explain this law to the Board, and to soften their indignation against it, but without effect." The Board advised the King that the oath prescribed by the Massachusetts people was "derogatory to his Majesty's honor as well as defective in point of their own duty, inasmuch as their allegiance to his Majesty and their fidelity to the colony were joined together in the same undecent form, and where such fidelity was made even to precede their obedience to his Majesty;" and they recommended that without delay the King should "strictly inquire and command that the oath of allegiance, as

1677. Oct. 10.

1678. April 18.

it was in England by law established, ... should be administered and taken by all his subjects in that colony."

Their advice was adopted by the King in Council; and, in immediate conformity with a further order, the agents from Massachusetts were brought before the Lords of the Committee, "and the oath of allegiance as it is set down in the statute of 3 Jacobi was administered to them. After which these gentlemen declared, that, as they had taken the said oath, so they believed the Magistrates of the Massachusetts colony, and all the other inhabitants, would most willingly do the like, except only such as refused to take any oath whatsoever."

April 24.

April 26.

Next came the all-important report of the crown lawyers (Jones and Winnington) on the legal condition of Massachusetts. They gave their opinion, under three heads, as follows: —

May 16.

"1. That, as to the patent of 4 Caroli, whether it were good in point of creation, it was most proper that the opinion of the Lords Chief Justices should be had thereupon.

"2. That neither the *quo warranto* mentioned to be brought against them, nor the judgment thereupon, was such as to cause a dissolution of their charter.

"3. That the misdemeanors objected against them do contain sufficient matter to avoid their patent.

"Their lordships did thereupon order a report to

be prepared, reciting all things that were past from the first settlement of New England, the several encroachments and injuries which the colony of Massachusetts had continually practised upon their neighbors, and their contempts and neglect of his Majesty's commands; and will offer their opinion that a *quo warranto* be brought against their charter, and new laws framed instead of such as were repugnant to the laws of England." And "their Lordships agreed to recommend Mr. Randolph unto the Lord Treasurer for a favorable issue of his pretensions to be employed as Collector of his Majesty's customs in New England, in consideration of his zeal and capacity to serve his Majesty therein."

The Lords of the Committee proceeded with increasing confidence. They summoned the agents before them to give an account of the effect that had been produced by the letters sent out by them to the colony in the preceding summer. The agents said, that, when those letters arrived, the General Court was just rising; and, though it had recently assembled again, this was merely for the annual election, and "there was no full account of what they did, the small-pox having then very much interrupted their meeting." Some discussion took place, which "confirmed many of their Lordships in their opinions that the establishment of a General Governor, and of a fit judicature there for the determining of differences, was become altogether necessary." The agents had had enough of England. The constrained

July 30.

oath of allegiance, the loss of New Hampshire, the perpetual altercations with Randolph, and now the serious project of a General Governor for the crown, must have made them wellnigh weary of their lives. They begged for leave to go home. But they were told that that could not be "before there was a final resolution taken upon this whole business."

July 31.

The General Court of Massachusetts held a dreary meeting after the arrival of intelligence of these proceedings. The clear-sighted old Governor had, it seems, made up his mind at once as to what it was best to do in respect to one demand, and, having resolved, had proceeded to action without delay. He "read his Majesty's letter, with the copy of the oath of allegiance sent therein, acquainting the Court that himself, the Deputy-Governor, and Magistrates then present in Council at Cambridge, the —— of August last, with the Secretary, took the said oath *in totidem verbis*." Things looked serious. The Court set apart the ninth instant to humble themselves before the Lord, and seek his face, desiring the help of the Governor and Assistants, and that the Reverend Mr. Oakes give a word of exhortation."

Oct. 2.

What they had made up their minds to do, they proceeded to do thoroughly. Having taken the oath themselves, they ordered that it should be taken by all persons within the jurisdiction of sixteen years of age and upwards; that, to

Oct. 10.

this end, magistrates, justices of the peace, and constables, should be furnished with "printed copies of the said oath of allegiance, exactly agreeing with the written copy enclosed in his Majesty's letter, and signed by the Secretary of State;" and that the constables should convene the inhabitants of the several towns and villages with all convenient speed for the administration of the oath. In a further expression, which might almost seem ironical, of exuberant zeal for the King's quiet, they amended their law of treason, so as to make punishable with death the utterance of any design against his life or his government, whether "by printing, preaching, or malicious and advised speaking."

The Court caused to be prepared an address to the King, and a full letter of further instructions to the agents, accompanied with replies to the strictures of the law officers and of the Lords of the Committee. To the agents the Court expressed their high sense of the value of the charter, and of the benefits which it had been the means of obtaining both for Massachusetts and for the parent country. "We would not," they wrote, "that by any concessions of ours, or of yours in our behalf, any the least stone should be put out of the wall; and we are not without hope, that, in the issue, his Majesty's favor will be as the north wind for the scattering of those clouds that do seem at present to threaten the loss of our future tranquillity." They hoped that the King, on full advisement,

would not object to their continuing to coin money; and they "would take it as his Majesty's signally owning them, if he would please to order such an impress as would be to him most acceptable." They approved of the purchase of Maine, and desired the continuance of every effort to secure the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. The King's arms they had "ordered to be forthwith carved by an able artist, and erected in the court-house." In respect to several questions raised by the law officers and by the Lords of the Committee, they "dared not presume to give an answer, his Majesty not having as yet declared his pleasure therein;" but they enclosed a memorandum of their views upon several heads, of which the agents, "as they had opportunity, might make use." Referring to the "laws for encouraging trade and navigation," they used the following remarkable words: "We humbly conceive, according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, that the laws of England are bounded within the four seas, and do not reach America, the subjects of his Majesty here being not represented in Parliament. So we have not looked at ourselves to be impeded in our trade by them, nor yet we abated in our relative allegiance to his Majesty." "Laws accounted repugnant to the laws of England," they were willing to "repeal with all convenient speed .... except such as the repealing whereof would make them to renounce the professed cause of their first coming."

Before adjourning, the Court appointed a day in the following month "to be solemnly kept as a day of fasting and prayer in all the churches and congregations throughout the jurisdiction, to pour forth strong and unanimous cries unto God." They exhorted the people to pray, that, "as he was present with the blessed generation of his precious ones, the leaders of his people into and in this wilderness, and did hear them when in their distresses they cried unto him, he will still please to dwell in the midst of us, and not forsake us; that he will not take away his holy gospel, and, if it be his good will, yet to continue our liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, to us and to our children after us."

What they esteemed the needful safeguards of their "liberties ecclesiastical" were presently to be assailed more directly than as yet they had been. Randolph presented a memorial to the King in Council, praying, among other things, that Churchmen might be admitted to public office in Massachusetts, and that the worship of the Church of England there might be made lawful. The Lords of the Committee, on its reference to them, gave their advice, "that the Lord Bishop of London be directed to appoint forthwith some able minister to go and reside at Boston in New England, and to appoint so many others from time to time as the country should be willing to maintain. . . . . And their Lordships still further advised his Majesty, that all persons

1679. Jan. 15.

Feb. 6.

taking the oath of allegiance, and joining themselves with the congregation of the minister to be appointed by the Lord Bishop of London, and having obtained a certificate, under the hand of the said minister and three of the said congregation, of their conformity to the Church of England, should be by his Majesty's express orders declared as capable of all freedoms and privileges as any other person whatsoever." Other recommendations made by Randolph at the same time the Committee were not yet prepared to approve. One was, that the number of Magistrates should never be less than eighteen; another, that no laws made in that colony should be valid without being confirmed by the King in Council; and another, that all inhabitants should be freemen on the sole condition of taking the oath of allegiance. A fourth related to the military force; it was, that all military commissions should be issued in the King's name, and that Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, should be made Commander-in-Chief of the militia of New England.

The impatience of the agents to take themselves out of the way did not escape notice or animadversion. They were summoned before the Lords of the Committee "upon an information that they were preparing for their departure to New England, contrary to his Majesty's commands." They disavowed all such intention, and were told that their stay had been prolonged by the neglect of their principals to give the King

Feb. 24.

satisfaction. Titus Oates and Lord Shaftesbury were more serviceable to Massachusetts in obtaining a reprieve than her agents. After three more weary months of hope deferred, the agents began to have a prospect of home. The Lords of the Committee advised that they should be allowed to go, "the rather because the prosecution of the Popish plot had not left a sufficient leisure for a perfect settlement of that colony." May 20. But the long process of arranging the conditions of dismissal was yet to be gone through. At last, the Lords of the Committee, finding nothing to change their opinion that "the present conjuncture was not very favorable for settling and establishing his Majesty's service in such method as were to be wished," June 20. advised "such a draught of a letter to be writ unto that colony as might keep things in a fair and probable way of amendment, until a fitter season should present more effectually to reassume the care of this whole matter." Not very long after, the agents began to breathe freely again on their homeward passage, carrying with them, as a parting word from the Lords of the Committee, a rebuke in set terms for "the presumption of the Massachusetts in buying the Province of Maine while the complaints of Mr. Gorges were under consideration," that measure being esteemed "of such evil consequences that their Lordships agreed to report, that, upon reimbursement of what should appear to have been paid for the same, that colony should June 19.

be obliged to make a surrender of all deeds and writings thereof into his Majesty's hands." Randolph had no intention to lose sight of the agents. He and they embarked for Boston about the same time.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS IN DANGER.

NOTWITHSTANDING the show of brave opposition to the demands of the British court, the public spirit of Massachusetts had never been so tame as it was at the time when her agents came back from England. The Magistrates were divided in their policy. Bradstreet, Denison, Dudley, and others were disposed to yield to the encroachments of the King and his ministry. During Governor Leverett's life, they were kept effectually in check by his paramount influence. But he died two months before the expiration of the term of service to which he had last been chosen. 1679. March 16.

At the election which took place in the spring before the return of the agents, Bradstreet, then seventy-six years of age, was made Governor. Circumstances independent of his merits led to his elevation. Symonds, the Deputy-Governor, died before Leverett. Bradstreet had been in the colony from its beginning. He was one of the few members of the Company who had come out from England, and one of the Assistants chosen in that country, of whom he was now the only survivor. He had been Secre- May. 1678 Oct.

tary for some years, and had been always in the Magistracy. He had acquitted himself not ill in his embassy to England; and whatever displeasure was felt for the unsatisfactory result of that mission had been visited less upon him than upon his more capable and less phlegmatic colleague His family connections gave him consequence. He married first a daughter of Thomas Dudley and then a daughter of Emmanuel Downing. He was a blameless and well-intentioned man, a conscientious Puritan, and a painstaking officer, eminently trustworthy in the details of business; and if he was not regarded as having a superior understanding or an energy adequate to uncommon occasions, still, when the second place in the government fell vacant, there was no reason sufficiently clear and weighty for resisting the pretensions set up for one against whom nothing worse was to be said than that he was the favorite of the moderate party. Then Leverett died, and Bradstreet, who had succeeded Symonds as Deputy-Governor, exercised provisionally the functions of Chief Magistrate. When, after a short interval, the time for another election came, a difficulty was naturally felt in resisting his elevation in favor of some comparatively inexperienced candidate; nor was it to be expected that the great neutral body, who respected his private character and were grateful for his long services, would entertain a severe judgment of the mediocrity of his qualifications. He can scarcely be pronounced to have

been equal, either in ability of mind or in force of character, to the task of steering the straining vessel of the State in those stormy times. More than any other man then living in Massachusetts, Thomas Danforth was competent to the stern occasion. But, in the circumstances, the verdict of the electors is not matter of surprise. The administration acquired character and strength by the election of Danforth to the second office; and both Governor and Deputy-Governor were continued in place, by successive elections, as long as the charter government lasted.

Randolph, sailing for New York, reached America a fortnight earlier than the agents; but he did not appear at Boston till more than a month after them, being instructed first to go to New Hampshire and settle a government there, as will hereafter be related. A week after his arrival at Boston, the General Court assembled, and the King's letter which had been brought by the agents was read. In it the King expressed his disappointment that Stoughton and Bulkley had not been furnished with fuller powers, and announced his "will and pleasure," that, within six months, other agents, "duly instructed," should be sent out. He repeated his injunctions respecting an admission of members of the Church of England to the franchise and to every kind of civil equality, and respecting an increase of the number of Assistants, so as to accord with the charter. He again required a recital of

1679. Dec. 7.

1680. Jan. 28.

Feb. 4.

the royal authority in military commissions and legal proceedings, and a strict obedience to the Acts of Trade and Navigation. He gave notice of the appointment of Randolph to be "Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher" for all the colonies of New England; and concluded by declaring himself "surprised" that the Massachusetts people should "presume" to buy the province of Gorges when he was himself "in treaty for it," and by making known his expectation that they would transfer it to him, "upon a reimbursement of what it should appear they had paid for the same."

After its own manner, — for the Deputies were stern, and compromises had to be studied, — the Court proceeded to act upon these instructions. A form of military commission was drawn up, in which the officer was informed that he was appointed "for the service of his Majesty," and that it was "in his Majesty's name" that he was "authorized and required" to take command. Provision was made for the election in future years of eighteen Assistants, "according to the charter." The Governor was instructed to take "the oath required by his Majesty for the observation and executing of the statutes for the encouraging and increasing of Navigation and Trade."

The ancient claim to New Hampshire was relinquished by an order vacating "all commissions formerly granted by the colony of Massachusetts to any person that lived in the towns of Hampton Exeter, Portsmouth, and Dover." On the other

hand, the colony, by virtue of its purchase, stepped into Gorges's place as Lord Proprietor of Maine.

At the next General Court for Elections, for the first time in the history of the colony, eighteen Assistants were chosen, in accordance with a provision of the charter, and with the royal pleasure recently expressed. The session was protracted to the unusually long period of three weeks. This may well be supposed to have been owing to the difficulty of coming to the decision, already too long delayed, respecting an answer to the King's letter. The greater part of the session was whiled away in the transaction of business of mere detail. But the King could not be expected to wait indefinitely. Even if he was busy with other matters, Randolph had abundance of time to attend to Massachusetts. Clearly, it was prudent to say something as soon as might be; and, after wearisome pondering and anxious debate, a letter was indited to the King, which cannot be regarded as expressing the sentiments of either of the parties that divided the Court, but rather as indicating that the best compromise which they were able to reach rested on silence and further procrastination in respect to the pending matters of greatest moment. In respect to the question that required the most delicate treatment, the Court wrote begging the King's further indulgence for their omission to send over agents, on the grounds of the information they had of his being just then busy with "matters of far greater importance," of their "present low con-

May 19.

dition through the vast charges of the late war' and a recent "wasting fire" in Boston, and of "the great hazard of the sea," then infested with "Turkish pirates." The Court could not, except under strong necessity, be brought to trust agents in England with its business.

Meanwhile, Randolph, proceeding without delay after his arrival at Boston to one part of the business with which he was charged, had "seized several vessels with their lading." To seize was a simple process; but forms of law had to be gone through with before vessels and cargoes could be condemned, and Randolph found courts and juries utterly indisposed to meet his wishes. In plaintive language he summed up his first experiences of this description: "His Majesty's authority and the Acts of Trade were disowned openly in the country, and I was cast in all these causes, and damages given against his Majesty." He wrote home, that it was "now in every man's mouth that they were not subject to the laws of England, neither were those of any force till confirmed by their authority;" and that "the church party at Boston endeavored to debauch the merchants and loyal men." In respect to the arrangements for Gorges's province, he reported that it was "promised by sufficient merchants in Boston to deposit the money for the purchase of Maine, and upon such terms as it might be for the benefit of the poor, distressed inhabitants." His impatience was stimulated by the personal vexations t

Jan. 28.

Feb. 24.

which he found himself continually liable; and he sent over a memorial to the King urging the expediency of proceeding against the charter of Massachusetts by a writ of *quo warranto*. While he affected no secrecy as to his sentiments, and little as to his designs, it may well be supposed that he found himself engaged in a perpetual quarrel, and was more and more irritating and irritated day by day. "I have," he wrote, "only hope and my life left, which I am unwilling to expose to the rage of a deluded multitude, who, under the pretence of great privilege from the King, take liberty to oppose his royal authority." "I expect hourly to have my person seized, and cast into prison."

April 8.

June 7.

June 9.

He now left Boston for a time for New Hampshire, being probably frightened away. His representations produced part of their natural effect in England. The King wrote again to the Magistrates, and now much more angrily than ever before. He "strictly commanded and required" them, "as they tendered their allegiance," to despatch agents within three months after their reception of the order, with full powers. And he ended with a very definite injunction: "That the due observance of all our commands above mentioned may not be any longer protracted, we require you, upon the receipt hereof, forthwith to call a General Court, and herein to read these our letters, and provide for our speedy satisfaction; in default whereof we shall take the most effectual means to procure the same. And so we bid you farewell."

The Court meeting again in the autumn, while this letter was on its way, made various arrangements relating to the orderly conduct of elections, and to a reorganization of the militia, but took no measures respecting the pending controversy with England, further than to appoint a fast, for "all the Lord's remembrancers to be earnest with him in prayers, ... that all humbling dispensations towards us in these ends of the earth may be sanctified, and that God would yet, for his name's sake, continue our liberties, both civil and spiritual."

Dec. 17. Presently the King's letter came, brought by John Mason himself, the heir to New Hampshire; and a "Special General Court" was

1681. convened to consider it. For a week after

Jan. 4. coming together, the Court "adjourned *diem per diem*, having debates and consideration of the things then incumbent." Without doubt the debates were warm. The record is brief. Orders

Jan. 12. were at length made for notifying to the inhabitants of the New Hampshire towns the state of Mason's claim; for hastening a revision of the laws, which had been lingering for two or three years; and finally for the appointment of agents to go to England, agreeably to the royal command.

William Stoughton and Samuel Nowell were chosen to that trust by a joint ballot of the two branches of the Court. Nowell, who was not a man of eminent abilities, belonged to the anti-prerogative party. Stoughton had had enough of this kind of business. A formal vote of thanks for

his recent services as agent stood on the record, but he read little gratitude in the countenances of his old friends. He excused himself from the service, and John Richards, also a Magistrate, was chosen in his place. Richards belonged to the knot of those who, if Randolph had read them aright, only "waited for an opportunity to express their duty to his Majesty." The practical significance of the King's injunction to enlarge the number of Magistrates began to be evident. Prerogative principles, which had more favor with the Magistrates than with the Deputies from the towns, obtained an advantage in the General Court. But the popular party knew how to interpose delays, and the elected messengers to England still remained at home.

March 16.

The Court which took this action had not broken up when Randolph again sailed for England. He could not have arrived there at a moment more auspicious for his revenge. The King, after a series of humiliations, had just obtained a signal advantage over the Parliament convened at Oxford, and was again well on his way to absolute power. The memorial sent by Randolph from Boston had been referred by the Privy Council to the Lords of their Committee of Trade and Plantations. "My Lord Culpepper attended, and gave their Lordships an account of the state of New England," bringing them to the "opinion that New England could not be brought to a per-

March 15.

March 27.

April 6.

April 16.

fect settlement unless a General Governor were sent over, and maintained there at the King's charge."

Randolph had a short passage, and could scarcely have reached England before he went to work on reports to Sir Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State. In them he exposed "the correspondency and combination which to his knowledge was continued betwixt the factious parties in both Englands." Among other measures he proposed that Mr. Danforth, Mr. Saltonstall, and Mr. Gedney "should be declared incapable of public trust or offices, and be bound to their good behavior in £1000 bonds;" that a writ of *quo warranto* should be issued against the charter of Massachusetts; that a General Governor should be appointed for New England, for which office he recommended Lord Culpepper; and that a provisional government should be immediately constituted for Massachusetts, to consist of Bradstreet, Stoughton, Dudley, Denison, and eight other principal inhabitants, understood to be disaffected to the popular cause. "Which proposals, as preliminaries," Randolph concludes, "if his Majesty be pleased to direct and commit to my conduct, I do not question but to give a satisfactory account."

April 16.

At the General Court for Elections in Massachusetts, held two months after Randolph's departure, the objections presented by the King's law officers against the local laws were considered and it was determined to repeal the laws "against keeping Christmas," and for pun-

May 11.

shing with death Quakers returned from banishment; and to amend those relating to heresy, and to "rebellion against the country." As if to take away from these changes the appearance of being made under coercion, other amendments, with which the British government did not concern itself, were adopted at the same time. The form of oaths and commissions for commanding officers of regiments was revised; the crime of the "rebellious son" was newly defined; and highway robbery was constituted a capital offence. It was resolved to make no change in the law "about marriage," or in the law "touching walking in the fields and streets on the Sabbath day."

The only other matter transacted at this Court, relating to the controversy with the home government, was the despatch of a letter to Sir Lionel Jenkins, in answer to the King's letter brought by Mason in the preceding autumn. The Court said that they had "carefully perused their whole book of laws," with reference to the exceptions taken by the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, and had "made a considerable progress towards a conclusion;" and that they had "published his Majesty's pleasure to those villages of the colony on the south of Merrimack, some part whereof Mr. Mason made his pretensions unto." The question about sending agents to England, agreeably to the King's peremptory order, was that which embarrassed them most. Referring to it, they did but repeat the plea for indulgence which they had made in the preceding year.

June 3.

The record of the next General Court contains
Oct. 12. no reference to these affairs. They had not been presented anew by any message from England, and the Court was not inclined to volunteer any action in respect to them. But, as
Dec. 17. winter approached, Randolph appeared again at Boston. He now came invested with an additional power of annoyance. Blathwayt, clerk
1680. of the Lords of the Committee, had been
May 19. commissioned by the King to be his "Surveyor and Auditor General of all his revenues aris-
1681. ing in America;" and by him Randolph
Oct. 15. had been appointed and commissioned "to be his deputy and under-officer within all and any of the colonies of New England, his Majesty's colony of New Hampshire alone excepted."

He brought yet another letter from the King. This important paper comprehended a careful survey of the whole controversy, and concluded with the following peremptory language: —

"We once more charge and require you forthwith to send over your agents fully empowered and instructed to attend the regulation of that our government, and to answer the irregularity of your proceedings therein. In default whereof, we are fully resolved, in Trinity Term next ensuing, to direct our Attorney-General to bring a *quo warranto* in our Court of King's Bench, whereby our charter granted unto you, with all the powers thereof, may be legally evicted and made void. And so we bid you farewell."

Here was matter for serious thought; the more so, as the King's restoration to unrestricted power was now known in Massachusetts. The General Court assembled, and listened to the reading of the King's letter, of Randolph's commission as Collector, of the King's "patent to William Blathwayt, Esq., for constituting him to be Auditor and Surveyor General," and of "Mr. Blathwayt's deputation to Mr. Randolph." They agreed upon an Address to the King, of which the principal import was, to entreat his longer forbearance; to inform him, that, in compliance with his "commands in several letters," they had "despatched their worthy friends Joseph Dudley and John Richards;" and to place in a favorable light their proceeding in the purchase of Gorges's property in Maine. They ordered that the Acts of Trade and Navigation should "be forthwith published in the market-place in Boston by beat of drum, and that all clauses in said acts relating to this plantation should be strictly taken notice of and observed." They constituted *Naval Officers*, — one for Boston, the other for "Salem and adjacent ports," — to be commissioned by the Governor, and to exercise powers of a nature to control the Collector appointed in England. They repealed their laws under the titles *Conspiracy* and *Rebellion*, and directed a substitution of the word *jurisdiction* for "the word *commonwealth*, where it imported jurisdiction." They revised their law of treason so as to read as follows: "If any man con- 1682. Feb. 15.

spire and attempt any invasion, insurrection, or public rebellion against the King's Majesty, his government here established, or shall endeavor to surprise any town or towns, fort or forts therein, or shall treacherously and perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame or polity of government fundamentally, he shall be put to death."

Danforth, who had come from his government in Maine to take his place in the General Court, was now chairman of the committee for preparing instructions for the agents. He took care that Dudley, (whom no man knew better,) and his easy colleague, should be carefully limited as to the exercise of a discretion so liable to abuse. As to the coining of money, they were directed to ask the King's pardon for the past, and, for the future, his "gracious allowance, it being so exceedingly necessary for civil commerce." They were to represent that there was no colonial law "prohibiting any such as were of the persuasion of the Church of England;" that the "severe laws to prevent the violent and impetuous intrusions of the Quakers" had been suspended; that "as for the Anabaptists, they were now subject to no other penal statutes than those of the Congregational way;" and that "the law restraining freemen to church-members only was repealed." They were to give assurance "that the Acts of Trade, so far as they concerned the colony, should be strictly observed, and that all due encouragement and assist

ance should be given to his Majesty's officers and informers that they might prosecute the breaches of said Acts of Trade and Navigation." To any project for "appeals to his Majesty and Council in cases concerning his Majesty's revenue," they were to object, that there was "cause to fear it might prove extremely burdensome, and, as it might be improved, intolerable, should it be admitted." They were to expose the vexatious injustice of Robert Mason's present exorbitant claim, and to "give his Majesty a true relation of the proceedings with reference to the settlement of the government of the province of Maine, according to the charter granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges." "We do not understand," — so the General Court informed their messengers, — "that any alteration of the patent is intended. You shall therefore neither do nor consent to anything that may violate or infringe the liberties and privileges granted to us by his Majesty's royal charter, or the government established thereby; but, if anything be propounded that may tend thereunto, you shall say you have received no instructions in that matter, and shall humbly crave his Majesty's favor that you may not be constrained to make answer thereto."

It was not to be supposed that such proceedings of the General Court would assuage the hostility of Randolph. His sense of them was expressed in a paper which he entitled "Articles of High Misdemeanor exhibited against a Faction in the General Court." He accused that faction, headed by

the Deputy-Governor, and consisting of several Magistrates and Deputies whom he named, of refusing "to declare and admit of his Majesty's letters patent . . . . . creating an office of Collector, etc., of his Majesty's Customs in New England;" of withholding the payment to him of "several sums of money which he was forced to deposit in court before he could proceed to trial of causes relating to his Majesty's concerns;" of obstructing him by the revival of a law which constituted a colonial Naval Officer; of usurping, in the General Court, judicial powers confined by the charter to the Governor and Assistants; of neglecting to repeal their laws "contrary to the laws of England;" and of disregarding the King's letters patent "creating an office of Surveyor and Auditor General of his Majesty's revenues arising in America." He wrote to Sir Lionel Jenkins, that, on account of his zeal in the King's service, his life was continually in danger, and that "imprisonment was the least he expected." In a letter despatched by the vessel that carried the agents, he advised strongly that Dudley should be received with such attentions as would secure him in the interest of the court, describing him as a person who had "his fortune to make in the world," and who "would cringe and bow to anything;" and he proposed the new measure of declaring all marriages null "but such as are made by the ministers of the Church of England."

April 11.

May 29.

CHAPTER IX.

HUMILIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The reader is apprised that the politics of Massachusetts, in her relations to the parent country, were now embarrassed for want of the unanimity which had existed in earlier times. According as men were resolute or timorous, — according as they were aspiring for themselves or public-spirited, — to some extent, according as they were rich or in those moderate or humble circumstances which are less liable to be disturbed by public commotion, — they looked upon the measures of the home government with different eyes.

Two parties had already taken a definite shape and character. The strength of the popular party was in the House of Deputies, where the municipal corporations were represented on a basis of substantial equality with one another. The interior towns were less affected by those influences which disturbed the ancient relations of things in the busy marts along the seaboard. In these quiet neighborhoods, the primitive principles and manners prevailed in unbroken severity. The sense of danger from any violence on the part of England was not brought home to hamlets which could only

be invaded by means of toilsome marches through the woods. The cruel sufferings of the recent war had elevated the tone of public virtue, and enhanced the sense of the worth of those privileges, which, having been defended against savage assaults, were now threatened again by a pagan king on the other side of the ocean.

Of the popular party, Danforth, the Deputy-Governor, a man of excellent abilities and virtue, was the acknowledged head. With him were Gookin, Nowell, Saltonstall, Gedney, and others among the Magistrates, and numerous prominent names among the Deputies, as Cook, Brattle, Hathorne, Wait, Hutchinson, and Pike.

Notwithstanding the liberal tendencies of the mass of the voters, the opposing *moderate* party, as it was called, was largely represented in the Board of Assistants; for the traditional respect of the freemen for advantages of social position was great, and even under strong excitements they could not easily be brought to displace the men who, with personal dignity and the associations of consequence which grow with length of possession, had occupied the high seats of power. The moderate party had some accession of strength from a quarter whence it might less have been expected The clergy no longer stood up for the chartered rights of Massachusetts with the same undivided front as in former times. The political schism in their ranks was not yet very apparent; but it was sufficient, and sufficiently well known, to damage

the cause of the patriots. The social and even the domestic relations of the clergy with those prominent families which were represented in the wavering Board of Magistrates were intimate. Their own consideration appeared in some measure to be due to the credit thus reflected upon them. The legal arrangements for the religious establishment caused the liberality of the provision made for them to depend not a little on the good-will of leading men; and a standing order of clergy is always morbidly alive to the danger of popular imprudence. The ancient spirit of the clergy of Massachusetts was by no means extinct. But it was already enfeebled by hesitation, uneasiness, division, and distrust.

Denison, Major-General of the colony, had been prominent in the moderate party, but he was now infirm, and died soon afterward. 1682. Sept. Its most considerable names were those of the Governor, Bradstreet, and of Stoughton and Dudley, Assistants. The Governor's ordinary understanding and feeble and irresolute temper gave him the equivocal consequence often possessed by those whom all parties commend, or forbear to oppose, because each party hopes, if they are advanced to power, that it will be able to rule and use them. Stoughton, a rich, atrabilious bachelor, — not unconscientious after his own dreary manner, — was one of those men to whom it seems to be a necessity of nature to favor oppressive and insolent pretensions, and to resent every movement for freedom

and humanity as an impertinence and affront. His unhesitating and stubborn absolutism might be relied upon to sway the course of the apprehensive and pliant Governor.

But Stoughton's power was that of a dogged will, and not of a superior understanding. The ruling spirit of the moderate party was Joseph Dudley, a name sadly famous in New England history. Dudley had come forward into public life under all favorable auspices. Born of Thomas Dudley, the second Governor, there was scarcely in New England a more distinguished parentage than his. He received the best education of the time at Harvard College, under President Chauncy. His position was strengthened by the domestic alliances of his family. One of his sisters married Governor Bradstreet; another married General Denison; and his wife was daughter of Edward Tyng. He was early a member of the House of Deputies, became an Assistant when he was scarcely thirty years old, and in the next year, having been meanwhile charged with an important trust in Philip's war, was associated with Danforth in the high office of Commissioner of the United Colonies. This last appointment was renewed to him by several successive elections, and he was continued in the Magistracy almost as long as the government lasted. He was made Sergeant-Major (or actual commander-in-chief) of the militia of Suffolk County, and from time to time was invested with various tem

1673.
1676.
1677.

porary trusts of a responsible and honorable character. Thus by the favor and confidence of his fellow-citizens laid under obligations of gratitude, and at the same time armed with a power and brought under a temptation to harm them by treacherous conduct, it remained for time to show which part he would elect. Already, however, it appeared to right-minded observers that his intimacy with Bradstreet was inauspicious to the public welfare. The Governor's well-merited reputation for uprightness screened the equivocal conduct of his friend, while Dudley's dexterity in affairs now made up for, and now used, the clumsiness of the more responsible actor.

In England, where Dudley and his associate agent arrived after a tedious passage of nearly twelve weeks, they lost no time in approaching the Privy Council. Taking up consecutively the various charges that had been brought against their constituents, they represented, in an elaborate paper, that the delay in their appearance had been occasioned by the danger of the voyage and the poverty of the colony, which, at the time when the command was issued, was in debt to the amount of twenty thousand pounds sterling for the expenses of the recent war; that there was no law or custom in Massachusetts preventing the use of the English liturgy, or the election of members of the Church of England to office; that the ancient number of eighteen Assistants had been restored, agreeably to the royal command; that all

1682. Aug. 20.

official persons took the oath of allegiance; that military commissions and judicial proceedings were in the King's name; that "all laws repugnant to or inconsistent with the laws of England for trade were abolished;" that Randolph's commission had been recognized and enrolled, and that he and his subordinates had been subjected to no penalties but such as were needful "to the providing damages for the officers' unjust vexing the subjects;" and that, in Massachusetts, the Acts of Trade and Navigation had "been fully put in execution, to the best discretion of the government there." They restated in full the position of their colony in relation to the claims of Gorges and Mason, and they concluded by expressing the hope that the demand for appeals to the King "in matters of revenue" might be reconsidered.

But the time had gone by when an effort of this nature could be of any avail, had it been much more hearty than, on the part of the principal agent, it was. The design of the King and his counsellors to crush Massachusetts had been matured. The agents submitted their commis-

Sept. 20. sion to Sir Lionel Jenkins, and were presently informed, as the unanimous decision of the Privy Council, that they must remain for the present in England, and that, unless they obtained further powers without delay, the colony would be proceeded against by a *quo warranto* at the next term of the Court of King's Bench. The

Dec. 20. courtiers were angrily in earnest, and ar

order was sent to Randolph to return to England, and give his aid in the prosecution of the writ.

Intelligence of these threatening proceedings caused the Governor to convene a General Court, which issued a new commission and new instructions to the agents. One clause in the commission indicates expressly the apprehensions which were felt respecting the fidelity of Dudley. It authorized him and his colleague "jointly and not severally" to act "for the regulation of anything wherein the corporation had ignorantly or through mistake deviated from their charter; and to accept of and consent unto such proposals and demands as might consist with the main ends of their predecessors in their removing hither the charter, and his Majesty's government here settled according thereunto."

1683. Feb. 9.

March 30.

But the instructions to the agents imposed material limitations upon their power. In these they were told: "Whereas, in our commission and power sent to you, one general limitation is the saving to us the main ends of our coming over into this wilderness, you are thereby principally to understand our liberties and privileges in matters of religion and worship of God, which you are therefore in no wise to consent to any infringement of." If a liberty of appeals to England were insisted on, the agents were "not to conclude the colony by any act or consent of theirs, but to crave leave to transmit the same to the General Court for their further consideration." They were "not to

make any alteration of the qualifications that were required by law, as at present established, respecting the admission of freemen." They were "not to consent to any removal [that is, to England] of the seat of the government here according to charter," nor to any alteration of "the present constitution of the General Court, consisting of Magistrates and the Deputies as the select representatives of the freemen, being, without doubt, agreeable to the patent." "By order of the General Court," the agents were authorized, in a private letter, to deliver up to the King the deeds of the Province of Maine, if they found that such a surrender would help to save the charter. They were informed of recent further legislation of Massachusetts, in compliance with the King's wishes as to the Navigation Laws, and for the security of his rights in mines of gold and silver, of which some discovery was said to have been made within the jurisdiction. But "the sum," wrote the General Court by their Secretary, "of all we can pray and commend unto you is, to do us all the good you can, and to endeavor the preventing all the inconveniences you may, which we doubt not but you will unfeignedly do; and the God of heaven direct, counsel, assist, prosper, and succeed all your undertakings."

Before dispersing, the Court appointed a day for "solemn humiliation throughout the colony, therein humbly to implore the mercy and favor of God in respect to their sacred, civil, and temporal concerns, and more especially those in the hands of

their agents abroad; as also for those kingdoms upon whose welfare their own did so nearly depend, and for the Protestant churches and interest elsewhere."

At the next annual General Court for elections, the great subject was not revived. Randolph had gone again to England. It is probable that he had delayed his departure in order to watch the proceedings which have just been related; for he sailed as soon as they were brought to an end and the Court was dissolved. Presently after his arrival, he received an order to "attend Mr. Attorney-General, with proofs of his charges against the Massachusetts government." The business had been matured beforehand, and the formal proceedings took little time. Before Randolph had been a month in England, he had virtually accomplished the object of his ambition and revenge. The blow with which the colony had so long been threatened was struck. The writ was issued which summoned it to stand, for the defence of its political existence and of the liberty and property of its people, at the bar of a court in London.

May 16.

May 28.

June 13.

June 27.

It was ordered by the Privy Council "that Mr. Edward Randolph be sent to New England with the notification of the said *quo warranto*, which he was to deliver to the said Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, and thereupon to return to give his Majesty an account of his proceedings therein." He was to

July 20.

be furnished with "two hundred copies of all the proceedings at the Council Board concerning the charter of London, ... to be dispersed by him in New England, as he should think best for his Majesty's service." And he was to carry over a royal "Declaration," which must have made those who composed it smile, when they remembered what had been the issue of the more important Declaration of Breda.

In it the King announced his "will and pleasure" to be, "that the private interests and properties of all persons within the colony should be continued and preserved to them, so that no man should receive any prejudice in his freehold or estate." He promised, "that, in case the said corporation of the Massachusetts Bay should, before prosecution had upon the said *quo warranto*, make a full submission and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would then regulate their charter in such manner as should be for his service and the good of the colony, without any other alteration than such as he should find necessary for the better support of his government there." And he "further declared and directed, that all those persons who were questioned in or by the said *quo warranto*, and should go about to maintain the suit, should make their defence at their own particular charge, without any help by, or spending any part of, the public stock of the said colony; and that as well those that were not freemen, as such as were willing to submit, should be dis-

charged from all rates, levies, and contributions towards the expense of the said suit, both in their persons and estates." The agents, being "not willing to undertake the defence and management" of the question upon the charter in Westminster Hall, received liberty to return home; but they were not to set sail till after Randolph should be "embarked for his said voyage."

Randolph arrived at Boston a few days after the agents. Forthwith the General Court was convened, and his alarming message was delivered. "The Court sat *diem per diem* on the consideration of the weighty matters that were presented." Their consultations resulted in nothing but sending out a power of attorney to Mr. Robert Humphreys, a London barrister of the Inner Temple, with instructions to appear for them at the approaching term of the court of King's Bench. He was informed that his object should be "to save a default and outlawry for the present." He was to "entertain the best counsel possible, and gain what time might be had, *cunctando restituere rem*, and that a better day might shine." With reference to several particulars of questionable principle and irregular form which were specified, he was to plead to the jurisdiction of the court in the case as now brought before them; and he was urgently to represent that the predecessors of the impeached party "transported themselves hither, settled and defended themselves here at their own cost and charge, many of them

Nov. 7.

leaving large accommodations in England for an uncertain settlement in this wilderness, confidently relying on the security given them by their charter for the enjoyment of the privileges therein contained."

Of the proceedings of this General Court in relation to the great question that was pending, this is all that appears upon the record. The cold leaves reveal nothing of the temper and agony of the discussions that were protracted for four weeks. We learn something of them from other sources. Dudley, secured to the King's interest, and now again seated among the Assistants, assured the Court that there was no hope for them but in submission. In the upper branch of the government there was found at length a servile majority. The

Nov. 15. Magistrates voted that an humble Address be sent to his Majesty, declaring, that, "upon a serious consideration of his Majesty's gracious intimations in his former letters, and more particularly in his late declaration that his pleasure and purpose is only to regulate our charter in such a manner as shall be for his service and the good of this his colony, and without any other alteration than what is necessary for the support of his government here, we will not presume to contend with his Majesty in a course of law, but humbly lay ourselves at his Majesty's feet, in a submission to his pleasure so declared; and that we have resolved, by the next opportunity, to send our agents, empowered to receive his Majesty's commands accordingly. And, for saving a default for non

appearance upon the return of the writ of *quo warranto*, that some meet person or persons be appointed, and empowered by letter of attorney, to appear and make defence, until our agents may make their appearance and submission, as above. The Magistrates have passed this with reference to the consent of their brethren the Deputies hereto."

The Deputies were prepared for no such suicide, though there were not wanting faint hearts or grovelling aims among them. After a fortnight's debate over the action of the Magistrates, the lower house came to the following vote: Nov. 30. "The Deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills." The proposal of submission was rejected.

Soon after this decision, Randolph sailed again for England, where he made reports to the Secretary of State and to the Privy Council Dec. 14. of his proceedings. Intelligence that followed him indicated no progress in the undertaking of Dudley and his friends to obtain a submission of Massachusetts to the pleasure of the King. At the General Court for elections, Dudley had 1684. May 7. been dropped from the list of Assistants. Bradstreet and others of his party had not been displaced; but the vote that elected them had been close, and Stoughton had been so disgusted with the rejection of his friend, that he refused to take the oath of office, though he was at the same time complimented by being chosen a Federal Commissioner. The General Court had sent another

letter to Humphreys, urging him to "use his endeavor to spin out the case to the uttermost;" and, with it, another Address to the King, in which they prayed that he would not impute it to "the perverseness of their minds" that they could not make the submission which he demanded.

May 10.
May 17.

Before these papers reached England, judicial action was taken that was all but definitive. The Court of Chancery, to which the business had been transferred, made a decree vacating the charter, at the same time directing "that judgment be entered up for his Majesty as of this term; but if defendants appear first day of next term, and plead to issue, so as to take notice of a trial to be had the same term, then the said judgment, by Mr. Attorney's consent, to be set aside; otherwise, the same to stand recorded."

June 21.

This staggering intelligence reached Massachusetts in a private letter to Dudley. A General Court was convened; but nothing was done except to hear the letter read. An adjourned meeting was held five weeks later. The Court then addressed the King once more, with the accustomed plea for justice and forbearance. And they wrote to their attorney, Humphreys, that, "though they knew not what could be done more, nor could not direct for the future, yet, if he should find any way for their advantage, they were confident in his endeavors, and did assure him they would not be ungrateful." These papers had not

Sept. 10.
Oct. 15.

been despatched from Massachusetts when the final step was taken in England. The counsel for the colony moved in the Court of Chancery for an arrest of proceedings, on the ground that time had not been allowed for procuring a power of attorney between the issuing of the writ of *scire facias* and the day appointed for its return. But the Lord Keeper said that corporations ought always to have their attorney in court, and ordered final judgment to be entered for the vacating of the charter. Oct. 23.

Massachusetts, as a body politic, was now no more. The elaborate fabric, that had been fifty-four years in building, was levelled with the dust. The hopes of the fathers were found to have been merely dreams; it seemed that their brave struggles had brought no result. The honored ally of the Protector of England lay under the feet of King Charles the Second. It was on the charter granted to Roswell and his associates, Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, that the structure of the cherished institutions of Massachusetts, religious and civil, had been reared. The abrogation of that charter swept the whole away. Massachusetts, in English law, was again what it had been before James the First made a grant of it to the Council for New England. It belonged to the King of England, by virtue of the discovery of the Cabots. No less than this was the import of the decree in Westminster Hall.

Having secured its great triumph, the court had

no thought of losing anything by the weakness of compassion. The person selected by the King to govern the people of his newly acquired province was Colonel Piercy Kirk. That campaign in the west of England had not yet taken place which has made the name of Kirk immortal; but fame enough had gone abroad of his brutal character to make his advent an anticipation of horror to those whom he was to govern. It was settled, that he was to be called "his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor-General," and that his authority should be unrestricted by any other upon the spot. There was to be no Colonial Assembly, and the Governor's Council was to be of his own appointment. On lands that might be granted, the King was to have quit-rents, subject to be augmented from time to time at his pleasure; and one of the churches in Boston was to be seized for the use of a church of England. Dudley and his friends had their cogent reasons for being resigned to the new order of things; and they had now little anxiety lest it should lead to insurrection.

Nov. 17.

Nov 22.

Several months passed after the fatal decree before intelligence of it was transmitted in any way. In midwinter a vessel arrived bringing "general rumors" of it; and the Governor convened the Court. They appointed a fast-day, and once more tried their accustomed fruitless method of pacifying the King by an Address. In this, which, like its predecessors, was sent to Mr. Humphreys for presentation, they again protested that none

1685. Jan. 28.

of their acts had been done "in derogation of the King's prerogative, or to the oppression of his subjects;" and they urged, that they "never had any legal notice for their appearance and making answer in the Court of Chancery; neither was it possible, in the time allotted, that they could."

The reader asks how it could be that the decree by which Massachusetts fell should fail to provoke resistance. He inquires whether nothing was left of the spirit, which, when the colony was much poorer, had so bravely defied and baffled the designs of the father of the reigning King. He must remember how times were changed. There was no longer a great patriot party in England, to which the colonists might look for sympathy and help, and which, it had been even hoped, might reinforce them by a new emigration. There was no longer even a Presbyterian party, which, little as it had loved them, a sense of common insecurity and common interest might enlist in their behalf. Charles the Second was now an absolute sovereign. For three years there had been no Parliament to call him to account. No man could promise himself that another English parliament would ever meet. The executions of Russell and Sidney, the severities practised on the multitudes of humbler Englishmen, who scrupled to renounce an Englishman's birthright of free speech and free thought, the high-handed course taken with the boroughs and other corporations, had reduced England to a dead level of helpless and desperate servitude

Relatively to her population and wealth, Massachusetts had large capacities for becoming a naval power; capacities which might have been vigorously developed, if an alliance with the great naval power of Continental Europe had been possible. But Holland was now at peace with England; not to say that such an arrangement was out of the question for Massachusetts while the rest of New England was more or less inclined to the adverse interest. Unembarrassed by any foreign war, England was armed with that efficient navy which the Duke of York had organized, and which had lately distressed the rich and energetic Netherlanders; and the dwellings of two thirds of the inhabitants of Massachusetts stood where they could be battered from the water. They had a commerce which might be molested on every sea by English cruisers. Neither befriended nor interfered with, they might have been able to defend themselves against the corsairs of Barbary, in the resorts of their most gainful trade; but England had given them notice, that, if they were stubborn, that commerce would be dismissed from her protection; and, in the circumstances, such a notice threatened more than mere abstinence from aid. The Indian war had emptied the colonial exchequer. On the other hand, a generation earlier the colonists might have retreated to the woods; but now they had valuable stationary property to be kept or sacrificed To say no more, the ancient unanimity was broken in upon. Jealousies had arisen and grown. Had

the confederation been unimpaired, perhaps the proceedings of a half-century before might have been revived, and a new emigration have been made from the mother country. But the Confederacy was only a shadow of what it had been in the days of the Great Rebellion.

Nor was even public morality altogether of its pristine tone. A prospect of material prosperity had introduced a degree of luxury; and luxury had brought ambition and mean longings. Venality had become possible; and clever and venal men had a motive for enlisting the selfish, blinding the stupid, and decrying the generous and the wise. The most powerful man of New England was in league with her foes. Thirty years before, there would have been no place for such a politician as Joseph Dudley in the social system of Massachusetts. He would have had to do violence to his vicious nature, or to be obscure and unimportant. The time for such practitioners had come

CHAPTER X.

EASTERN AND SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND.

When the Province of Maine, having been ad-
1677. May 6. judged in England to be the property of Ferdinando Gorges, was purchased from him by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, that corporation accordingly became Lord Proprietor in his place. It had come into possession of little but vacant land. During the war with the Indians, Maine had been almost emptied of English settlers..

The return of peace invited the fugitives back to their homes, and made it fit that a government should be reconstituted. Recurring to the system formerly in force, the General Court of Massachusetts admitted Deputies from towns in Maine, and made provision for the present administration of justice.

But, when Randolph came from England a third time, bringing notice of the King's extreme displeasure at that purchase of Maine which took it out of his own hands, it was time for Massachusetts to see to the security of her property, if she did not mean to lose it. In doing so, it was impossible for her to overlook the new relation intc

which she was legally brought to the people formerly dealt with on a footing of complete equality. From being a part of the colony, and as such sharing in the functions of government, voting for Governor and Magistrates, and sending Deputies from its towns to the General Court, Maine was now a subject province, to be administered in such manner as Massachusetts, exercising the prerogatives set forth in the grant to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, should decree. Accordingly, "the Court taking into consideration the necessity of a speedy establishing a government in the Province of Maine, ... the honored Council of the jurisdiction was requested and empowered to take order for settling the said government, and appointing a President, with justices of the peace, and other officers, as directed in Mr. Gorges's patent, and to commissionate the same under the seal of the colony." 1680. Feb. 4.

By virtue of this vote, the Governor and Assistants proceeded to establish and organize a government for Maine. They determined that there should be a provincial President, to be appointed from year to year by Massachusetts, and a legislature to meet once a year, and to be composed of two branches. The upper house, called the *Standing Council*, was to consist of eight persons, appointed annually by the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts, and subject to be removed by them. The Standing Council was also the supreme judicature. The other legislative branch was to

consist of Deputies from the towns. Under the authority conferred on them by the General Court, the Governor and Assistants appointed Thomas Danforth to be President of Maine for the first year.

June 11. Their action was approved by the Court at its session which speedily took place; and towards the close of summer, attended by sixty soldiers, Danforth sailed for Casco Bay to

Aug. assume his charge.

The General Court of the following year con-

1681. May 11. tinued Danforth in his place. The General Assembly of the province, constituted upon the new system, came together. They petitioned the government of Massachusetts for a guar-

Aug. 18. anty against "all claims and demands due, and by charter belonging, to the chief Lord Proprietor for the time past," and for immunity for the future from imposts on townships previously granted, and on "streams, saw-mills, corn-mills, etc. . . . . otherwise than should be necessary for their own defence." On these conditions, they professed themselves willing to make provision for all the public charges of the province, and to make certain annual contributions to Massachusetts, as proprietary. The General Court accepted these proposals, and accordingly "ordered and

Oct. 12. empowered the President of said province to make legal confirmation to the inhabitants respectively of their just propriety in the lands there, under his hand and seal, according to the directions of their charter." And the Assembly of Maine

sent a memorial to the King, warmly expressing their gratitude for the protection and kindness experienced from Massachusetts in time past, and their desire "to live under the rule of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts, now," they said, "your Majesty's Lieutenant, and our chief Lord Proprietor."

When it had been decided in England that neither Massachusetts nor Robert Mason had a right to rule New Hampshire, it became necessary to provide some other government for the four towns which still constituted the whole inhabited part of that territory. The King in Council accordingly instituted such an authority. New Hampshire was created a royal province. 1679. July 10. John Cutts, of Portsmouth, a respectable merchant, now far advanced in life, was made President of it, with power to appoint a Deputy. Sept. 18. Six persons were designated to compose his Council, while three others were to be chosen by them. The Governor and Council were to be a judicial court, subject to an appeal to the King in Council in cases involving a value of more than fifty pounds. They were authorized to appoint military officers, and, with the concurrence of the Assembly, to assess taxes. The Assembly, to consist of Deputies of the towns, was to constitute a part of the government so long as the King should not see fit to order otherwise. Enactments were to be immediately transmitted to the Privy Council, and were to remain in force until disallowed by

that authority. Liberty of conscience was to be maintained. It was ordered that a seal should be transmitted to the province, with a portrait of the King and the royal arms, to be set up at the seat of government.

Edward Randolph brought the commission to Portsmouth, and made known its contents to the persons named in it as Magistrates. All of them were well affected to Massachusetts, and no one was ambitious of the position to which he was raised. They accepted the trust simply from a conviction, that, if declined by them, it would fall into hands that would deal less justly with the rights and interests of their neighbors.

1680. Jan. 1.

They took the oaths of office; issued writs convening an Assembly, to consist of two Deputies from Exeter, and three from each of the other towns; and appointed a fast-day to pray for "the continuance of their precious and pleas ant things."

Jan. 22.

When the members of the government thus organized came together, almost their first act was a grateful recognition of the benefits which had in times past been experienced from the government of Massachusetts. They framed a code of laws introduced by the provision "that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be made or imposed upon them, but such as should be made by the Assembly, and approved by the President and Council." They established inferior courts of justice, to be held in each of the

March 16.

March 25.

towns of Portsmouth, Dover, and Hampton. They organized a military force, consisting of four companies of infantry (one for each town), a troop of horse, and an artillery company for the fort in Portsmouth harbor.

Almost simultaneously with the institution of the new government, Randolph began his operations at Portsmouth as Collector of the King's Customs. The master of a vessel which he seized brought an action against him, and obtained a verdict with thirteen pounds damages. His deputy, Walter Barefoote, was convicted and fined five pounds for "having, in a high and presumptuous manner, set up his Majesty's office of customs without leave from the President and Council, in contempt of his Majesty's authority," and "for disturbing and obstructing his Majesty's subjects in passing from harbor to harbor, and town to town."

It was time for Mason to be looking after his affairs in person. He came out armed with a *mandamus* from the Privy Council, constituting him a member of the Council of the province. He proceeded at once to molest the inhabitants by requiring them to take leases of their lands from him, and demanding rents for past occupation, under a threat of seizure and sale. The Council, stimulated to action by numerous petitions, peremptorily commanded Mason and his agents to desist from such annoyances. Thereupon he absented himself from the meetings of the Council. They sent to require his presence, under

Dec. 30.

the penalty of their displeasure for contumacy. He replied by publicly summoning them to answer him before the King within three months. They issued a warrant for his arrest for "a usurpation over his Majesty's authority here established." He eluded it, and took passage for England. Three months before this, Richard Chamberlain had arrived, appointed, by a commission from the King, to supersede Elias Stileman, whom the Council had made their Secretary.

President Cutts died; and Waldron, who, according to the provision in the fundamental act, succeeded to the chief office, appointed Mr. Stileman to be his Deputy, while Waldron's son was elected to the place now vacant in the Council. But this government was too good to be allowed to last. Mason's representations in England took effect, and the Privy Council resolved to advise the King to remodel the administration of the province. Mason was so fortunate as to fall in with a person who at the same time was fit for his purposes, acceptable to the government, and in search of some way to get a living. This was one Edward Cranfield, said to have been of the family of the Lord Mounteagle, who was concerned in the detection of the Gunpowder Plot. Cranfield meant to have good security for his pay; and it was agreed between him and Mason, that, if he should obtain from the crown a commission as Governor of New Hampshire, with an allowance of all fines and forfeitures, Mason should fur

1681. March 27. April 5.

ther allow him one-fifth part of all sums received as quit-rents, and should secure to him an annual income of a hundred and fifty pounds, for seven years, by a mortgage on the lands of the province for a term of twenty-one years. And an instrument of this tenor was enrolled in the Court of Chancery. 1682. Jan. 25.

The job was all arranged, and the commission was issued. It authorized the Governor to convoke, prorogue, and dissolve General Courts, which were to continue to consist of a Council and Chamber of Deputies; to refuse to approve Acts of the two Houses, which should thereupon be void; to remove Counsellors, who should thenceforward be incapable of serving as Deputies; to constitute courts of judicature; to appoint a Deputy-Governor, and judicial and military officers; and to administer admiralty jurisdiction. Cranfield was made Governor. All of the former Counsellors who were still living were retained, including Mason, who came back with the Governor; and Barefoote and Chamberlain were added to the list. So far as Waldron and Martyn were concerned, the nomination seemed to have been intended only to prepare the way for an affront; for almost the first act of Cranfield, on arriving at the seat of his government, was to dismiss them from the Council. He gave Chamberlain the lucrative offices of clerk of all courts of judicature and registrar of deeds and wills. He summoned an Assembly; and a May 9. Oct. 4. Oct. 10. Oct 23.

new code of laws was promulgated, from which was omitted the provision that only laws
Nov. 14. enacted by the local legislature should be of force in the colony.

A very few weeks had passed, before Mason and his viceroy fell out. Cranfield's eyes were
Dec. 1. opened about many things. He had been "not fairly treated by Mr. Mason and Mr. Chamberlain." He recalled Waldron and Martyn to the Council, "finding them to be persons very useful for his Majesty's service," and "nothing to render them guilty of such disloyalty as they were charged with;" while Mason had "much misrepresented the whole matter, both as to the place and people," and "taken wrong measures for his procedure."

One fruit of the altered relations of the parties was a tax laid by the Assembly, to the amount of five hundred pounds, of which sum they appropriated one half as a gratuity to the Governor. They probably hoped thus to secure his good-will, to protect them against the plots of Mason. But whether it was that Cranfield had now attained the object of his professed friendship, or merely that the new alliance had no reasonable basis, it was speedily broken. At the next meeting
1683. Jan. 20. of the legislature, which took place after a short interval, the Governor and the Assembly differed respecting several measures; and he exercised his extraordinary power to dissolve it, — a high-handed proceeding, for which there had been no precedent in New England. As a measure of

precaution, he dismissed Stileman from the charge of the fort at Portsmouth, and gave the command to Barefoote.

The dissolution roused the people into a fury. Edward Gove, a Deputy from Hampton to the recent Assembly, gathered a little company, with which he went about among the towns, calling upon the inhabitants to aid him in securing "liberty and reformation." With eight of his associates he was apprehended, and immediately arraigned for high treason. All were convicted; but all were presently set at liberty except Gove, who was sentenced to suffer the penalty of the crime, with its odious accompaniments specified by the law of England. Feb. 1.

The result of this mad outbreak made Cranfield's position more secure, but at the same time rendered it more disagreeable. He caused notice to be given that all the inhabitants must take leases from Mason within a month, under pain of having their failure reported to the King, and being made liable to the forfeiture of their claim to a preëmption. Having displaced Waldron and Martyn from the Magistracy a second time, and appointed Barefoote to be Deputy-Governor, he repaired to Boston, where he considered that no little of his business lay, and where henceforward much of his time was spent.

The passing year was a critical one for Mason. He had been appointed Chancellor, and, the Magistrates and the sheriffs (who selected the juries) be-

ing now creatures of the Governor, he entered on the judicial prosecution of his claims with every favorable prospect. The first suit which he brought was against Waldron, who, having been overruled in his challenge of the jurymen, as being tenants of Mason, and therefore interested persons, made no defence, and was defaulted with heavy costs. The same course was taken with all the principal landholders. But the futility of it was exposed when the executions were levied. Nobody would venture to buy the forfeited lands, or attempt to take possession of them.

The despotism of Cranfield and his colleagues was unchecked and impudent. They excluded Massachusetts vessels from their river, on account of alleged violations, in that colony, of the laws of Trade. They put an arbitrary valuation on silver coin. They altered the boundaries of the towns; forbade the collection of town and parish taxes, till taxes assessed for the province should have been paid in; and in various other ways made the people feel the weight of a yoke which the imprudence of the recent rebellion showed the difficulty of throwing off.

Enforced by poverty to convoke the provincial legislature again, the Governor informed them
1684. Jan. 14. that he had intelligence that there was danger of a foreign war, and of an invasion of the province by the King's enemies; and he presented to the Assembly a bill, which, reversing the proper order of procedure, he had already caused

to be passed by the Council, appropriating money for the repair and supply of the fort at Portsmouth, and for other expenses of the government. The Assembly refused to enact the bill, and Cranfield revenged himself by dissolving it, and by causing several of the members to be chosen constables for the year, — an appointment which could not be escaped but by the payment of a fine.

With his obsequious Council, Cranfield now proceeded to the extreme length of levying taxes without the action of an Assembly. Feb. 14. The pretence was an alarm of invasion from the eastern Indians. Great military preparations were made; and the Governor went to New York, to endeavor to make arrangements with Governor Dongan to engage an auxiliary force of Mohawks. He gave further offence to Massachusetts by exacting duties from vessels trading to the eastern side of the Piscataqua, which was within the border of Maine.

The Lords of the Committee wrote to Cranfield, censuring his course in causing the claims of Mason to be adjudicated upon in the province, instead of referring them to England, according to his instructions, and in presuming to fix the values of current coin. April 15. He was now utterly disappointed in his expectation of making a fortune, and disgusted with the vexations of the contest which he had dishonestly provoked; and, before receiving this rebuke, he had written home, asking to be relieved from his post. May 27

The King in Council gave him permission to appoint a Deputy, and "to go to Jamaica or Barbadoes for the recovery of his health, which he alleged to be much impaired by the severity of the cold."

Aug. 8

The attempt to enforce payment of the illegally assessed taxes led to general disorder. The constables reported that they could collect no money. They were ordered to proceed by the process of distraint; but when they had succeeded, through many difficulties, in seizing property, and offered it for sale, nobody would venture to buy. The people grew more turbulent, when a rumor got abroad that the Governor was soon to leave them. At Exeter they drove off the Marshal, the women having prepared boiling water and red-hot spits to use in support of the men's cudgels. From Hampton he had to withdraw with a beating and the loss of his sword, and was escorted thence to Salisbury on horseback, with a rope round his neck, and his legs tied under the horse's belly. Robie, one of the Magistrates, attempting to seize some of the mob, was himself assaulted. The troop of horse was ordered to parade under Mason, to put down the insurrection; but, on the appointed day, Mason found himself alone at the field of rendezvous. From these storms, when at their height, Cranfield, availing himself of the leave of absence which he had secured in time, withdrew to the more tranquil atmosphere of the West Indies, taking passage

Dec. 29.

1685. Jan. 22.

Jan. 9.

privately at Boston. Barefoote was left at the head of the government.

Of the confederate colonies, Massachusetts alone had hitherto been annoyed by Randolph and his employers and associates. Plymouth and Connecticut he had as yet seemed disposed rather to favor and flatter than to disturb. It was with the claims of Massachusetts that the pretensions of Mason and Gorges conflicted; and it was plain, that, if Massachusetts should be broken down, the other colonies would be an easy prey, and that, while the struggle was going on, a show of royal favor to them would strengthen the royal cause by creating jealousies among the parties to the colonial alliance.

Plymouth recovered but slowly from the exhaustion consequent upon the Indian war. Some vague expressions of good-will in a letter from the King revived in that colony the always delusive hope of obtaining a royal charter, and James Cudworth, of Scituate, was sent to England to present an Address having that object. In his absence, he was chosen Deputy-Governor, succeeding in that office to Thomas Hinckley, of Barnstable, who had been the first to hold it, and who, after a single year's service, had, on the death of Governor Winslow, been placed at the head of the administration. Cudworth died soon after his arrival in England; and after nearly two years more of disappointed hope, Mr. Ichabod Wiswall, minister of Duxbury,

1680. June 1.

Dec. 18.

1681. Jan.

1683. Feb. 6

was sent to renew the suit. But all would not do. Plymouth never got a royal charter.

Connecticut, on the other hand, rejoicing in the possession of that valued security, was for the present quiet and content, as well as thrifty. In the years immediately succeeding the Indian war her tranquillity was disturbed only by a continuation of the chronic strife with Rhode Island for proprietorship and jurisdiction in the Narragansett country. While that territory was a field of battle with the Indians, the controversy between its English claimants was of course suspended. When the quarrel was revived, it was under somewhat altered conditions. To the more ancient claims of Connecticut was now added that of conquest; for, while her troops had composed a large part of the force which had fatally struck at the Narragansett tribe in its stronghold, and finally swept over its domain, Rhode Island had held herself neutral in the war, to the extreme disgust of the other colonies. Almost before the Indians were reduced, the dispute broke out again in its old forms. Rhode

1676. Oct. 27. Island made proclamation that no person must "exercise jurisdiction in any part of the Narragansett country, under any pretence whatever, except under her authority." Some back-

1677. May 1. woodsmen complained to Rhode Island of being annoyed by Connecticut; and the former colony resolved that she would stand by them, "and relieve them," and "vindicate her jurisdiction unto the Narragansett country." The

intruders relied on this assurance, and some Connecticut officers brought them to Hartford, and put them in gaol. More of that spirited altercation followed, with which the reader is already well enough acquainted. But in action, Rhode Island, though she put her militia in order, was less adventurous than she had been in former times. Considerations of the recent practice of Connecticut in arms may have influenced her impulsive neighbor.

Randall Holden and John Greene were now in England, calling the attention of the Privy Council to their ancient quarrel with Massachusetts, and to that surrender of the Narragansett lands to the King which they had obtained from the natives forty years before. John Crowne was also there, representing the loss which his father had sustained by the surrender of Nova Scotia to the French, and seeking to be reimbursed by a grant of the territory lately conquered from the Pokanokets at Mount Hope. The King wrote to the colonies, directing that "all things relating to the said Narragansett country, or the King's Province, should be left in the condition as they now were, or had lately been in, as to the possession and government thereof;" and that claimants of "the soil or the government of the said lands" should, "with all speed, and by the first convenience, send over persons sufficiently empowered and instructed to make their right and title appear." The colonies were at the same time

1679 Feb. 12.

to "certify what right or title any of them might pretend unto the said country of Mount Hope, and also the true extent, value, and propriety of the said lands, with the grounds and evidences of their respective claims, if any should be made."

The King's letter seemed to present an occasion for a consultation of the Commissioners of the three confederate colonies. The Commis-
Aug. 25 sioners accordingly held a special meeting at Boston, and agreed upon a joint letter to Lord Sunderland. They informed him, that, as to the origin of the late Indian war, they had "just ground not only to fear, but without breach of charity to conclude, that those malicious designers, the Jesuits, those grand enemies to his Majesty's crown as well as to the Protestant religion, had had their influence in the contrivement thereof." They represented that the lands of Mount Hope, forfeited by Philip in "his breach of covenant," lay within the patent bounds of Plymouth; and that as to Crowne, who was seeking to be endowed with those lands, "neither his former losses, which were rather imaginary than real, nor his present demeanors, seemed such as should highly deserve of his Majesty, being rather a burden and disservice to such places where he had been, than otherwise."

The Narragansett lands, they said, were "included in his Majesty's charter granted to Connecticut, and so regularly under the government thereof; . . . . . but, since the war, these parts were

disturbed by sundry who did intrude themselves upon them, by countenance of the government of Rhode Island, as they alleged, and were an ungoverned people, utterly incapable to advance his Majesty's interest, or the peace and happiness of their neighbors." The settlement made by the Royal Commissioners, fifteen years before, it was argued, was invalid, because of the absence of Colonel Nicolls, whose concurrence with his colleagues in any decision was made necessary by the terms of their appointment. Finally, it was urged that it would "be most difficult, if not impossible, for the several claimers of right in that country, now resident in the colonies, to defend their interest in England, ... the whole estate of many of them being not able to transport them over seas." On the other hand, Sanford, Governor of Rhode Island, transmitted to the King a statement of the successive settlements within that jurisdiction, vindicating the claim of his constituents on the ground of ancient possession.

At home and in England the quarrel was carried on with animation, but with no important variations of incident, for some months longer, after which, as is indicated by the silence of the records both of Connecticut and of Rhode Island, it was suspended for more than two years. The firm attitude assumed by the former colony probably tended to keep the peace upon the spot, while the home government had no leisure for attention to the business during that time. At the end of it,

the King appointed "Commissioners for examin-
1683. April 7. ing and inquiring into the respective claims and titles, as well of himself as of all persons and corporations whatsoever, to the immediate jurisdiction, government, or propriety of the soil of or within the province commonly called the King's Province or Narragansett Country." The Commissioners were Edward Randolph, Edward Cranfield, Governor of New Hampshire, William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, and five other Massachusetts men prominent in the prerogative party.

Oct. 20. Their decision, reported to the Privy Council, sustained the pretensions of Connecticut and the Atherton Company, and disdainfully set aside those of Rhode Island. They said that the King's charter to Connecticut distinctly gave to that colony the lands in question; that the subsequent agreement between Winthrop and Clarke had no virtue to invalidate the royal grant; and that they found "no cause to judge that Paucatuck River anciently was, or ought to be called or accounted, the Narragansett River." And they added: "We hold it our duty humbly to inform your Majesty, that, so long as the pretensions of the Rhode Islanders to the government of said province continue, it will much discourage the settlement and improvement thereof, it being very improbable that either the aforementioned claimants, or others of like reputation and condition, will either remove their families, or expend their estates under so loose and weak a government."

While Connecticut had such great interests dependent on the pleasure of the court, her people were not backward in manifestations of loyalty. The authorities sent an Address to the King, to thank him for the happy issue of the late Indian war. "Under God," they said, "we must acknowledge ourselves debtors to your Majesty; the greatness of your name and power, with the gracious aspect towards us, being a terror to our heathen adversaries." But the expression of their gratitude to him for the advantage his gracious aspect had afforded them in their hunt of the Indians did but introduce a more practical topic. They extolled his "great goodness in those charter bounds and privileges which had been no small engagement and encouragement by which to defend and recover the whole, when others that pretended a part deserted the same," and added an "earnest beseeching the continuance of his princely grace, in the full enjoyment of all the limits mentioned in their said charter, and the privileges thereof." When the regulations of commerce were pressed, "the Governor did, in the presence of the Court, take the oath respecting the Act of Navigation and Trade appointed by his Majesty;" and he assured the Commissioners of the Customs that his government had "appointed Customers or Collectors in the several counties to take special care that the Acts of Navigation and Trade were duly observed and kept, and had commissioned them accordingly,"

1678. Oct. 10.

1680. May 14.

1681. Jan. 24.

and that they would "be ready to grant Mr. Randolph such necessary aid and assistance as should be requisite, if he also should see cause to take any cognizance of these affairs in the colony." Andros wrote to Governor Leete that he was informed of Colonel Goffe's living concealed in Hartford, under the name of Cooke; a warrant was forthwith issued to the constables "to make diligent search" for the culprit "in the houses, barns, out-houses, and all places" of that town; and Andros was apprised that the search had proved fruitless, as well as that "our people were amazed that any such thing could be suspected."

1680. May 18.

June 10.

Governor Leete was at the head of the administration in Connecticut during nearly all the period treated in this chapter. He died when he had been Governor nearly seven successive years, and was succeeded by Robert Treat, (the General for his colony in Philip's war,) with whom James Bishop, of Hartford, was associated as Deputy-Governor. The political refractoriness which Leete brought to America seems never to have wholly recovered from the shock it received before the surrender of New Haven; and he never gave Randolph occasion to make a quarrel with the consolidated colony of which he became Chief Magistrate. Another character of his administration should not be overlooked. He imported into the legislation of Connecticut something of the New Haven element of extreme Puritan rigor, —

1683. April 16.

an innovation to which his chief associate in the Magistracy was also by no means adverse. From the beginning of Leete's administration, "the great unreformedness" of the people excited more anxiety; "provoking evils" and "crying sins" seemed to multiply; "rebukes and threatenings" were more remarked; and Divine judgments appeared to be more deserved and more certainly impending. But Leete was an intelligent and virtuous ruler, and Connecticut prospered under his care.

The disappearance of another name, in perhaps the same month, from the roll of the living, was less observed at the time, though the name fills a larger place in history. Busy and conspicuous as has seemed the part that for a time he acted, the precise date of the death of Roger Williams is not known. For many years before it took place, he can scarcely be said to have been prominent in the view even of his own little public. In whatsoever proportions the failure may have been owing to his own eccentricities on the one hand, and to the obtuseness and waywardness of those whose conceits he had stimulated on the other, it is certain that he failed to command the controlling consideration which might have been expected to follow his possession of some uncommon abilities, and his repeated manifestations of a public spirit singularly disinterested and earnest. Free as he was from selfish ambition, it is not to be doubted that his life was a happy one, though it cannot be called, in any common use of the term, successful. A

Magistrate, at two or three distant intervals, of the colony which he had founded, his official life was mostly passed in a furious turmoil, such as would have made wretched any man of less cheerful temper. Leaving the public scene, not because his associates there were ungrateful, but because they were intractable, and betaking himself to the woods to turn Indian trader, no constant good fortune appears to have attended him even in that sphere. It seems that his expectations from his new employment were disappointed, and that in his old age he was maintained by his son.

William Coddington had ended his course a few years earlier. The principal founder of one of the two communities which were united in the colony of Rhode Island, — the sovereign of it, as at one time he had been by royal grant, — survived, by many years, not only his official and his personal importance, but probably his intellectual faculties, which were never of the highest order. Whether it was owing most to want of balance and want of force in his mind and character, or to the perversity of those whom he had undertaken to improve, profit, and govern, his hold on their confidence had not proved lasting. Happily for his peace of mind, from Antinomian he had turned Quaker; and the visions and the controversies of his sect provided him with resources for enjoyment in his declining years.

1678.

What remained of the Confederacy of the New England colonies was now about to expire. Afte

that meeting of the Commissioners at which were considered the conflicting claims to the Narragansett country, only two more meetings were held. At the former of these, which took place in Boston, no business was transacted except the settlement of two or three small claims made by private parties on account of the late war. The last meeting was at Hartford. Arrangements having been made to pay another little war-debt to Richard Smith, the final act of the Board of Commissioners of the Confederate Colonies was to proclaim a day of fasting and humiliation, that the people might bewail "those rebukes and threatenings from Heaven which they were at present under, His hand being stretched out still," and might pray "for a further lengthening out of their tranquillity under the shadow of their sovereign lord the King, and that God would preserve his life, and establish his crown in righteousness, for the defence of the Protestant religion in all his dominions." But the life that was desired for protection against a Popish reign was to be prolonged, in such righteousness as appertained to it, but a very little further.

1681. Sept. 26.

1684. Sept. 5.

CHAPTER XI.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

WITHIN a few months after the abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts, King Charles died suddenly, and his brother, the Roman Catholic Duke of York, ascended the throne of England, with the title of James the Second. In this short interval no arrangements were concluded for the government of the subjugated colony; and the variety of important business which belonged to the beginning of a new reign, and the insurrection under the Duke of Monmouth which took place soon after, fully occupied the attention of the ministry of King James. Accordingly, no orders came from England for a new regulation of affairs in Massachusetts, and the administration was continued in the ancient form.

1685. Feb. 6.

On the day of King James's accession to the throne, he issued his proclamation, directing that all persons in authority in his kingdoms and colonies should continue to exercise their functions till further order should be taken. A printed copy of the proclamation was transmitted to Boston by Blathwayt, along with an order to proclaim

the new King. The General Court was convened by the Governor to receive and register the edict. The Court was prepared to reply that the royal pleasure had been anticipated. A fortnight before its meeting, on the reception of a less formal instruction to the same effect, "the Governor and Council had ordered his Majesty with all due solemnity to be proclaimed in the high street in Boston; which was done. The Honorable Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants, on horseback, with thousands of people, a troop of horse, eight foot companies, drums beating, trumpets sounding, his Majesty was proclaimed by Edward Rawson, Secretary, on horseback, and John Greene, Marshal-General, taking it from him, to the great joy and loud acclamations of the people, and a seventy piece of ordnance next after the volleys of horse and foot."

May 6

April 20.

The annual elections in Massachusetts took place as usual; but the government was now regarded as only provisional, and was conducted without spirit. It was still expected that Colonel Kirk would soon come over as Governor. A universal despondency prevailed. The General Court found it necessary to threaten some of the towns for their neglect in sending Deputies; and, "judging it a matter of greatest concernment in the present juncture of Providence towards this people, that they so managed themselves as that they might not be led into temptation, to the doing of anything dishonorable

May 27.

July 10.

to their profession, disloyal to his Majesty, or the peace of those that had betrusted them," they summoned certain "reverend elders of the several towns . . . . . to meet and confer with the Court in council" at an adjourned session. The Court
July 21. came together again for this purpose; and Mr. Higginson, minister of Salem, was desired "to seek the face of God for his special guidance and direction." But nothing came of
July 24. the conference that followed except another Address to the King, rehearsing the same arguments for justice and lenity which had again and again proved so unprofitable.

Meanwhile, the indefatigable Randolph was at work in England. Soon after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth's invasion afforded the gov-
Aug. 18. ernment some leisure, Randolph presented a petition to the King, praying him to erect a temporary government over Massachusetts and its dependencies, and to send him over with commissions for it, and with writs of *quo warranto*
Sept. 2. against Rhode Island and Connecticut. He furnished a list of "well-disposed persons fit to be concerned in the temporary government of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay." Dudley's name is at the head of the catalogue, then Stoughton's, then Bulkley's. And he submitted a scheme of a joint House of Assembly, in which Massachusetts should be represented by twenty Deputies, Plymouth and New Hampshire each by nine, and Maine by eight. But this project, imperfect protec-

tion as it would have afforded to the colonists, was strangled in the birth. The King would have no House of Assembly. Other arrangements went slowly on, as the leisure of the government allowed. An Admiralty Court was constituted for "New England and all the parts thereof." Randolph received a commission to be Postmaster. And the Privy Council made provision for setting up in Boston the worship of the Church of England.

Sept. 9.

Nov. 19

Oct. 30.

One more annual election was held in Massachusetts according to the provisions of the charter. The freemen showed their dissatisfaction with Dudley by leaving him out of the Magistracy, a proceeding which so offended his friend Stoughton that he again declined to serve. They were not, however, consigned to private life. Arrangements had now been completed for the humiliation of the obnoxious colony. Two days after the annual General Court came together, a frigate brought Randolph to Boston, with an exemplification of the judgment against the charter, and commissions for the functionaries of a new government. It was to consist of a President, Deputy-President, and sixteen Counsellors. Their authority extended over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the King's Province. Over this district they were to exercise undivided control, no arrangement being made for a House of Assembly. Their functions, however, were only executive and judicial. They had no legisla-

1686. May 12.

May 14.

tive authority, nor could they collect any taxes except such as had already been determined by law Dudley was appointed President, and Stoughton Deputy-President. Randolph and Mason were made members of the Council. So were Fitz-John Winthrop and Wait Winthrop, of Connecticut, both of whom had lived in Boston much of the time since their father's death. Randolph was also Secretary and Registrar. Six of the Counsellors named in the commission had previously been Assistants. Two of them, Bradstreet and Saltonstall, refused to assume the trust, as did also Dudley Bradstreet, the Governor's son, and lately a Deputy.

Dudley and Randolph, with those Counsellors who consented to become their associates, laid their commission before the General Court, declining, however, to recognize the Magistrates and Deputies in an official capacity. On the third day following, the Court abdicated the government provisionally and under protest, after passing a unanimous vote to reply to the new rulers in the following terms: —

May 17.

May 20.

"Gentlemen, — We have perused what you left with us as a true copy of his Majesty's commission showed to us the 17th instant, empowering you for the governing of his Majesty's subjects inhabiting this colony, and other places therein mentioned. You then applied to us, not as a Governor and Company, but (as you were pleased to term us) some of the principal gentlemen and chief inhabitants of the several towns of the Massachu

setts, amongst other discourse saying it concerned us to consider what therein might be thought hard and uneasy. Upon perusal whereof we find, as we conceive, — First, That there is no certain determinate rule for your administration of justice; and that which is, seems to be too arbitrary. Secondly, That the subjects are abridged of their liberty, as Englishmen, both in the matters of legislation and in laying of taxes; and indeed the whole unquestioned privilege of the subject transferred upon yourselves, there not being the least mention of an Assembly in the commission. And therefore we think it highly concerns you to consider whether such a commission be safe for you or us. But, if you are so satisfied therein as that you hold yourselves obliged thereby, and do take upon you the government of this people, although we cannot give our assent thereto, yet we hope we shall demean ourselves as true and loyal subjects to his Majesty, and humbly make our addresses unto God, and in due time to our gracious Prince, for our relief."

They raised a committee of three persons, with the universally venerated Samuel Nowell at its head, to receive from the Secretary, and keep in their own hands, "such papers on file with the Secretary as referred to their charter, and negotiations from time to time for security thereof, with such as referred to their title of their land by purchase of Indians or otherwise." This done, "the whole Court met at the Governor's house," and passed a

formal vote of adjournment to a day in autumn. It was the last act of the old charter government; and with it the series of ancient records of Massachusetts, begun fifty-eight years before in a counting-house in London, is brought to a close.

The President might now please himself with the thought that he had secured the first step to what would prove a lofty eminence, if he should but continue to play his part with the audacity and adroitness in which no American of the time was his equal. The angular points of the heroic character are not seldom found to have disappeared in the second generation of an historical family. He whose early years have been passed in the chill of a home overshadowed by the penalties of opposition to the ruling influences of the time is tempted, even if entertaining honest aims, to court that smile of the world which, from want of experience and of confidence in himself, he rates at too high a value, and to look for some course of action that may reconcile self-respect with ease and good repute. Neither the second Winslow, nor even (with all his merit) the second Winthrop, had chosen for himself all the ruggedness of his father's path. Joseph Dudley, from the earliest period of memory, had been told of his father, not as of a disappointed man, — for the governing aims of Thomas Dudley were not worldly, — but as of one who had lived and died in a position less prominent and less luxurious than his early advantages might have seemed to prom-

ise; and such a career the enterprising son had no mind to repeat for himself. In early life, with distinguished ability, a diligence that never wearied, and the resources of a culture the most thorough that his country could afford, he pursued that reputable course which leaves the wise observer at a loss to decide whether it is dictated by uprightness and public spirit, or by a mere prudential watchfulness of the first avenues to advancement. Consecrated to the clerical profession when he first came into the public view, he was screened, in a community like that in which he lived, from all jealous analysis of his springs of action; and, devoting himself to public business in early manhood, he had strengthened by able services in various subordinate trusts that public confidence which, when the time should be ripe, might make a stepping-stone for his vaulting ambition.

But, flattering as were now his prospects, it was impossible that he should be unapprehensive of the embarrassments that surrounded him. Disarmed for the present as the patriot leaders were, he knew them well enough to expect that they would profit by all favorable circumstances to revive a resolute and skilful opposition to his courtly policy. He was not too ill-tempered to be willing to use conciliatory measures, when measures of that character would best promote his aims. But the unavoidable difficulty was to conciliate the patriots without estranging Randolph; for Randolph, always intolerant and impracticable, had now become vin-

dictive to an extreme degree. On his way to the eminence where he now found himself, Dudley had been effectively helped by Randolph's favor, and he was not yet powerful enough to venture to break with his ally. The yoke in which Randolph held him was often experienced to be galling; for Dudley, selfish as was his nature, ready as he had been to be corrupted, was not entirely without a conscience, nor could he yet entirely release himself from the early influences of Thomas Dudley's house. Perhaps he still loved the college. Perhaps he had still some love for the colony, which, grateful for his father's great services, and welcoming his own fair promise, had so affectionately showered its honors upon him. He could not but respect, if he no longer loved, the men upon whom it now devolved to do, in bitterness of heart and in defiance of him, the work in which they should have had him for a powerful coadjutor. But he loved his own elevation better than aught beside, and the ladder by which he was ascending was still steadied by Randolph's hand.

Within a week after the final separation of the General Court, the President and his Council met, published by proclamation their commission from the King, and took formal possession of the government. They appointed John Usher, who was of the Council, to be Colonial Treasurer.

May 25.

They lost no time in informing the Lords of the Committee of the ease with which the revolution had been effected, and of the mea-

June 1.

ures which were in their contemplation for the future. As to military security, they wrote, that, Peter Bulkley having declined the office, they had intrusted the command of the Castle in Boston harbor to "Captain Wait Winthrop, a person of known loyalty;" and, so far from adhering to the ancient bigotry of the country, they gave assurances that the Reverend Mr. Ratcliffe, who they had been informed was to be sent over by the Bishop of London to institute Episcopal worship in Boston, should "want no encouragement" from them. They referred to the "inconveniences happening by the indispositions and refusal of several persons nominated in his Majesty's most gracious commission," and reported the vacancies existing in the places assigned in it to Governor Bradstreet, Dudley Bradstreet, and Saltonstall. To their credit it is to be recorded that they expressed the opinion that it would be "much for his Majesty's service, and needful for the support of the government and prosperity of all these plantations, to allow a well-regulated Assembly to represent the people in making needful laws and levies." They prayed for authority to establish a mint. Arrangements were made for the administration to proceed according to the ancient forms. The President took an oath to observe the Navigation laws. June 11.

The sanguine expectations of Randolph from the new order of things were disappointed. He grew constantly more exacting and absolute, and it was unavoidable that he and the President should

soon fall out. The second month of the new government had not ended, when, laying his grievances before the Lords of the Committee, he wrote: "The proceedings of the Governor [President] and Council, whatever they write and pretend in their letters to your Lordships, are managed to the encouragement of the Independent faction, and utter discountenancing both of the minister and those gentlemen and others who dare openly profess themselves to be of the Church of England, not making any allowance for our minister more than we raise by contribution among ourselves. The frame of this government only is changed, for our Independent ministers flourish, and expect to be advised with in public affairs. . . . . Under the color of his Majesty's authority, the President takes great liberty to enjoin upon me in my station, and would not assist me to make a seizure of a vessel in the harbor, which my officers were not permitted to board. . . . . My life may be made very uneasy, unless his Majesty shall be pleased graciously to recommend me to the care and protection of his General Governor, for whose speedy arrival all good men heartily pray."

July 28.

He complained that only two members of the government, Mr. Mason and himself, were members of the Church of England; that, "of above sixty officers in the militia of the whole government, there were not above two captains, or three inferior officers, but were either church-members or such as constantly frequented those meetings,

which made Non-conformists from all places resort there." The effect of this favor of the local government in encouraging the immigration of dangerous characters he specified in the instances of three considerable persons, who had lately appeared in Massachusetts.

Mr. Morton, he said, "an excommunicated minister," had lately "come hither from Newington Green. He was welcomed by the President, and designed to be master-head of the college; but not daring to proceed at first by such large steps, he was called to be minister at Charlestown, a very good living, and was ready at hand to be President of the college. Two brothers of the name of Bailey, great and daring Non-conformists at Limerick, in Ireland, had been here two years, and well provided for. In the time of Monmouth's rebellion, most part of the ministers animated the people, saying the time of their deliverance was at hand; and not one of them prayed for his Majesty nor would give credit to his Majesty's most gracious letter, signifying the overthrow of the rebels." Accordingly, the writer "humbly proposed, as greatly for the quiet and welfare of the plantation of New England, that no minister from England should be permitted to land without the license of the General Governor, and that he should have power or license to restrain from preaching such as were already upon the place From all which" he concluded it to be "very necessary that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to send over a

General Governor, to unite and settle this distracted country, and also to make good what was already begun in this colony, the delay whereof might be of evil consequence, and give way for the factious people here to reassume the government, which they openly declared they had not parted withal, but expected an opportunity to be restored."

To his friend, Mr. Blathwayt, Randolph at the same time poured out his griefs still more largely. "The President," he wrote, "has so contrived the matter, that Captain George [of the Rose frigate, which had brought Randolph over] has received above two hundred pounds money, which legally belongs to me as collector and informer." The mutual dissatisfaction between the President and the members of his Council was such, that "now, instead of meeting to do public business, 't was only to quarrel, and that in such heats that it threatened to occasion the dissolving the government. I am forced," he continued, "to moderate others' passion, though I have most cause to complain, and quietly to suffer my profits to be shared out amongst others, till Sir Edmund Andros come over. He is longed for by all sober men who find themselves abused by the false President. . . . . Mr. Stoughton is inclined to the Non-conformist ministers, yet stands right to his Majesty. Mr. Usher . . . . . is a just, honest man, and will not see his Majesty's interest suffer. But we are overvoted, and cannot help overselves till Sir Edmund

come to regulate the matter. . . . . I am treated by Mr. Dudley worse than by Mr. Danforth, yet all under the pretence of friendship, and he is angry that I do not believe him. Honest Major Bulkley is tired out, and can hardly be persuaded to come to Boston."

To Archbishop Sancroft he addressed himself in an earlier letter, mainly devoted to ecclesiastical affairs. He had hoped that the towns-people of Boston "would voluntarily submit to have one of their three meeting-houses to be disposed of by the President and Council" for the worship of the Church of England. Disappointed in that expectation, he had with much difficulty obtained for the purpose a little room in their town-house. Ratcliffe, "a sober man," the clergyman who by the appointment of the Bishop of London had come over with him, was now preaching twice every Sunday, administering baptism, and reading "prayers every Wednesday and Friday morning on their exchange." These unfamiliar proceedings led to "great affronts, some calling the minister Baal's priest, and some of their ministers, from the pulpit, calling the prayers leeks, garlic, and trash." Randolph had "often moved for an honorable maintenance for the minister;" but the townsmen replied, that "those that hired him must maintain him, as they did their own ministers, by contribution." On his part, he "humbly represented that the three meeting-houses in Boston might pay twenty shillings a week apiece, out of their con-

July 7.

tribution, towards the defraying" the charges of the newly imported church; and he advised the sending over of another minister, to keep the sacred fire alive, in case "any illness or indisposition should happen to the present incumbent." He had looked after "the bank of money in the hands of the corporation for evangelizing the Indians." The Archbishop had expressed himself as "very desirous that that money might be inquired after, and applied to build a church and free school, that youth might be no longer poisoned with the seditious principles of this country." Randolph replied, that the sum in the hands of the corporation was not less than two thousand pounds, but at present he could not venture to add an attempt to seize it to the other causes of offence which he had found that he had given.

After further inquiry respecting the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, Randolph was able to inform the Archbishop
Oct. 27. that there were "seven persons, called Commissioners or Trustees, who had the sole manage of it; the chief of which were Mr. Dudley, the President, a man of a base, servile, and anti-monarchical principle; Mr. Stoughton, of the old leaven; Mr. Richards, a man not to be trusted in public business; Mr. Hinckley, Governor of Plymouth colony, a rigid Independent; and others like to these." The Commissioners, he said, were complained of to Mr. Ratcliffe by the Indians for making them no allowance for the winter; and they

"would not suffer Aaron, an Indian teacher, to have a Bible with the Common Prayer in it, but took it away from him." Randolph informed his correspondent that the money annually received from England by the Commissioners amounted to not less than three or four hundred pounds, — some reckoned it as high as six hundred pounds, — and that with this they "enriched themselves, yet charged it all as laid out upon the poor Indians." He represented that "the money now converted to private, or worse uses, would set up good and public schools, and provide maintenance for the Church minister, who now lived upon a small contribution." There was urgent need for "good schoolmasters, none being here allowed but of ill principle; and till there was provision made to rectify the youth of the country, there was no hope that the people would prove loyal." The prospects of the new church were encouraging. There were "at present four hundred persons who were daily frequenters of it; and as many more would come over, but, some being tradesmen, others of mechanical professions, were threatened by the Congregational men to be arrested by their creditors, or to be turned out of their work, if they offered to come to church." The members of the First Church, whose house of worship was near the exchange, were peculiarly "tender-conscienced." Randolph "desired them to let their clerk toll their bell at nine o'clock Wednesdays and Fridays," for the new congregation "to meet to go to prayers.

Their man said, in excuse for not doing it, that they had considered, and found it intrenched on their liberty of conscience granted them by his Majesty's present commission, and could in no wise assent to it."

During the existence of the government of Dudley and his Counsellors, New Hampshire, Maine, and the Narragansett country had no political history distinct from that of Massachusetts. Dudley's Council lost no time, after its organization, in discharging Danforth from the Presidency of Maine. The short remainder of Barefoote's administration in New Hampshire, before the province was again incorporated with Massachusetts under Dudley's government, was inefficient and disturbed; but it accomplished the renewal of pacific engagements on the part of some Indians about the Piscataqua and further east, who were suspected of preparing for another outbreak. The history of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut during the same time is barren of incidents. The period was one of uncertainty and suspense, and there was little public action except to provide for the exigencies of the passing hour. Plymouth, always destitute of even the imperfect protection of a charter, lay entirely at the King's mercy. The same tyranny that had annulled the charter of Massachusetts might at any time strike at the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Men's hearts failed them for fear.

1685. Sept. 8.

At Plymouth, King James was "solemnly pro

claimed, according to the form prescribed by his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council;" a division was made of the colony into counties, three in number, named *Plymouth*, *Barnstable*, and *Bristol;* and consequently sheriffs were now first appointed, the duties belonging to that office having been previously performed by constables. The colony sent an Address to the King, again begging for a charter, and received from him a letter informing them of the miscarriage of the enterprises of the Earl of Argyll and the Duke of Monmouth. A revised edition of the colonial laws was published. These are the only public occurrences recorded in the history of that colony during the twenty months that elapsed between the death of Charles the Second and the time when the public record was brought to a close.

April 24. June 2. June 4. June 26. June. 1636. Oct.

In Rhode Island, when five years had elapsed after the death of William Coddington, who, in his old age, had been called from his long retirement, and for three years made Governor of the colony, his son, bearing the same name, was also advanced to that dignity. He was rechosen in two successive years. The last of these elections took place in the anxious time which immediately followed the accession of the new monarch, and Coddington positively declined to serve. It may be supposed to have been by his own preference that he was not a member of the Committee which,

1674, 1675, 1678. 1683. May 2. 1685. May 5.

by the appointment of the General Court, addressed a letter of congratulation to King James.

May 6.

Randolph's plan for the subjugating of New England embraced the two colonies which had obtained charters from King Charles the Second. The new reign had scarcely begun, when the busy informer appeared before the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations with Articles of Misdemeanor against Rhode Island and Connecticut. Some of his charges against the Governor and Company of Rhode Island were, that they raised money by illegal impositions upon the inhabitants; that they denied appeals to the King; that they made and executed laws contrary to the laws of England; that they did not suffer the laws of England to be pleaded in their courts; that their legislators and magistrates took no legal oaths; and that they violated the laws of Trade and Navigation. The King in Council referred this representation to the Attorney-General, with an order to prepare a writ of *quo warranto* against the colony.

July 15.

July 17.

Randolph served the writ soon after his arrival at Boston with the commission for Dudley and his Council. The Governor called an early meeting of the Assembly, and summoned the whole body of the inhabitants "to make their appearance, either in person or in writing. . . . . And, in submission to the said notice given many of the freemen did meet and give in their

1686. June 12.

judgments to the Assembly; and then left the further proceeding concerning the premises to the judicious determination of the Assembly." The judicious determination of the Assembly was "not to stand suit with his Majesty, but to proceed by humble Address to his Majesty to continue their privileges and liberties according to their charter, formerly granted by his late Majesty, Charles the Second, of blessed memory." An official Address, of the tenor thus described, was prepared and sent, its prayer being enforced by the declaration that the petitioners were "a people that had been and were leal to the royal interest, and despised by their neighboring colonies." But dissent and contradiction were of the very essence of society in Rhode Island. Some conspicuous citizens sent to the King another Address on their own part, declaring, that, as to the Address of the colony, they "knew nothing of it, neither had they left the further proceedings with the Assembly." They said they preferred that there should have been a more "full and free submission and entire resignation;" and they asked to be "discharged of all levies and contributions to defray the charges of an agent's going for England, to which they could not consent." And yet another Address followed from the Quakers. July 16. Aug. 25.

An early act of Dudley and his Council was to constitute a provisional government, consisting of three persons, inhabitants of the Narragansett country, or King's Province, "to keep the May 28.

peace" in that district, at the same time discharging all the King's subjects within its bounds from 'the government of the Governor and Company of Connecticut, and of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and all others pretending any power or jurisdiction." Dudley soon repaired to the King's Province in person, accompanied by Randolph and by Fitz-John Winthrop and Richard Wharton, members of his Council. They caused their commission to be read, administered the oath of office to several justices, and appointed commanders of the militia. They gave new names to "the three towns," directing the names of Kingston, Westerly, and Greenwich to be superseded respectively by *Rochester*, *Feversham*, and *Deptford*. They decided favorably on the claim of the Atherton Company to the possession of the tract which had been the occasion of so much debate. They organized courts of justice, and made regulations for a peaceable settlement of questions arising between the owners of lands and irregular settlers upon them. It was in such arrangements of organization and administration that the force and clearness of Dudley's mind appeared to most advantage.

June 23.

On the third day after the arrival in Connecticut of the proclamation, by the Privy Council, of the accession of King James, the Governor and Magistrates caused him to be proclaimed at the capital with due solemnity. They at the same time framed a short Address of con

1685. April 22.

dolence and congratulation to the new monarch, in which they prayed for the "benign shines of his favor on his poor colony." The General Court, which assembled in the following month, passed a vote approving these transactions, and framed another Address, in which they especially expressed their gratitude for the promises of toleration with which the King had begun his reign. May 14.

The Addresses reached England about the time that the Articles of High Misdemeanor against Connecticut were presented by Randolph to the Privy Council. These charged the colony with making laws contrary to the laws of England; with imposing fines upon the inhabitants; with enforcing an oath of fidelity to itself, and neglecting the oaths of supremacy and of allegiance; with forbidding the worship of the Church of England; with denying justice in the courts; and with "discouraging and excluding the government all gentlemen of known loyalty, and keeping it in the hands of the Independent party." The same course was taken by the Privy Council with these Articles as with the similar representations against Rhode Island. July 15.

Two days after the inauguration of Dudley's government in Massachusetts, Randolph wrote to the Governor and Magistrates of Connecticut, informing them that he was intrusted with a writ of *quo warranto* against the colony. "His Majesty intends,' said he, "to bring all New 1686. May 27.

England under one government; and nothing is now remaining on your part, but to think of an humble submission and a dutiful resignation of your charter, which, if you are so hardy as to defend at law, whilst you are contending for a shadow you will in the first place lose all that part of your colony from Connecticut to New York, and have it annexed to that government, a thing you are certainly informed of already; and nothing will prevent, but your obviating so general a calamity to all New England by an hearty and timely application to his Majesty with an humble submission. . . . . I expect not that you trouble me to enter your colony as a herald to denounce war. My friendship for you inclines me to persuade an accommodation; and, to that end, I desire you to send me word whether you will favor yourselves so far as to come to me in Boston, where you will be witnesses of our peace, and belief of his Majesty's government not such a scarecrow as to affright men out of their estates and liberties rather than to submit and be happy. . . . . Sirs, bless not yourselves with vain expectation of advantage, and spinning out of time by my delay. I will engage, though the weather be warm, the writs will keep sound and as good as when first landed."

Randolph concealed the fact, that, by reason of the length of his voyage from England, the time for the appearance of the colony to contest the writ had already expired; and he used this inso-

ent language in the hope that he might avoid the necessity of producing the writ, by inducing the government of the colony to surrender their charter without abiding the legal process. On the reception of his letter, the Governor called a special session of the General Court, which July 6. resulted in nothing but another Address to the King, soliciting, with the usual arguments, the discontinuance of proceedings against the charter, which favor would be an "experience that in the light of the King's countenance is life, and his favor is as the cloud of the latter rain." A fortnight after, Randolph came to Hartford, and July 20. served the writ in person on the Secretary and one of the Magistrates.

The General Court was again convened. Two days before its meeting, a confidential letter July 26. came to the Governor from Dudley, urging upon Connecticut the expediency of seasonably seeking a union with Massachusetts rather than with New York, in "the new modelling and perfect settlement of all his Majesty's provinces . . . . . now lying before his Majesty, and probable to have a sudden and lasting despatch." To this voice of the charmer Connecticut gave no heed. Her object was the conservation of her separate independent polity. The General Court "de- July 28. sired and empowered the Governor, and so many of the Assistants as should convene upon the Governor or Deputy-Governor's order, ... to procure an agent to appear before his Majesty;

. . . . and generally to do whatsoever might be judged necessary for the prosecution of the colony's affairs in England." And the desponding temper of the Assembly was expressed in the further vote, "that, if so be there was case of necessity, the agent might have instructions in behalf of the colony to accept and submit to such regulations as his Majesty should think fit." Mr. William Whiting, a merchant of London, son of one of the early settlers of Hartford, was intrusted with the agency. He did his best, but he accomplished nothing.

No further public action was had on the pending question, except to confirm, three months later, acts which had been done by the Governor and Magistrates in obedience to the instructions of the General Court. The time specified for the appearance of the colony in Westminster Hall having already passed before the service of the writ, the agent was instructed to employ counsel to make the most of this advantage. But, in view of the existing state of affairs in England, and of the corruption of the courts, little confidence was felt in the success of the attempt. If the charter should be vacated, as was too probable, the issue was expected to be that Connecticut would be annexed to Massachusetts or to New York, or else that her territory would be divided by the Connecticut River, and one of the severed parts be attached to each of those colonies. While President Dudley desired to influence Connecticut to prefer an an-

nexation to Massachusetts, Governor Dongan, of New York, aimed at the same enlargement for his colony. The Governor of Connecticut kept himself in a neutral position. He wrote to Dongan for advice, and received from that able functionary a representation of the benefits to result from leaning to his side after "a downright humble submission" to the King.

But a speedy end was to be put to these hopeless struggles. The year was just closing, when Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Boston, bearing a commission for the government of all New England. Dec. 20.

CHAPTER XII.

FIRST YEAR OF GOVERNOR ANDROS.

The government of Andros in New England lasted two years and four months. Before proceeding to relate the course of its events, the principles upon which it was constituted may be set forth in a few words. He who reads and ponders them will no longer wonder at the pertinacity with which the colonists had struggled against the abrogation of the charters. Their resistance is vindicated by the results of its defeat. The King, who in England had been pleased to distress and affront his subjects to the last limit of endurance, now, when the protection of the charters was withdrawn, proceeded in New England according to the same tyrannical pleasure.

The discovery of New England by the Cabots, subjects of the King of England, made that monarch the sovereign of New England, according to the recognized public law of the time. The King of England gave the territory, by his charter, to the Plymouth Company. After the failure of that corporation, he gave the lands to the Council for New England. Proceeding upon a grant of that Council, he gave part of the lands to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. This Company emi-

grated, and established themselves upon the soil, which, by virtue of their ownership obtained from the King, they proceeded from time to time to appropriate in parcels to their own assigns, after buying out the adverse title of the native inhabitants as often as such a title was set up. Sometimes the Governor and Company conveyed parcels of land to individuals. Oftener they conveyed it to bands of settlers, whom, for the purpose of managing the common business, they invested with corporate municipal authority, and recognized as towns; and the towns distributed to individuals the lands with which they had been endowed by the Governor and Company. Thus, in English law, the titles to landed property in Massachusetts rested ultimately on the gift of the King of England.

Other corporations besides towns had been created by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts. Harvard College, the Artillery Company, the Atherton Land Company, are examples. The colonists, under the interpretation which they gave to their charter, established a representative government. They levied taxes on inhabitants and sojourners, as well on those who were not, as on those who were, members of their Company. They set up tribunals of justice, with powers extending to every issue that could be tried, even to the issue of life and death. They made war and peace They coined money They exercised all functions of a government.

By a competent tribunal, the highest court of the empire, the charter of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay had now been declared null and void. In English law, every right, privilege, and immunity which had been founded upon the charter fell with the charter, — as much those rights which the charter had been designed to convey, as those, if there were any such, which had been foisted into it by erroneous constructions.

Among those rights conferred by the charter which its abrogation had annihilated, the right to distribute and convey lands was prominent. Failing that right, the title of the assigns failed also; and from this it followed that there was not an acre in Massachusetts but now belonged to King James the Second by hereditary and by official descent from King Henry the Seventh, the original Christian owner. Accordingly, King James, whenever it should please him, might equitably proceed to oust the present holders from property which, under the security of his father's grant, their predecessors had been at great cost and hardship to acquire, and had peaceably possessed for nearly sixty years.

The court doctrine of the existing relation of Massachusetts to the parent country entailed othe consequences. Massachusetts belonged not to the "empire of the King of England," but to the "dominion of the crown of England." Her people might not claim any birthright of Englishmen, as such, but "the crown of England might rule and

govern them in such manner as it should think most fit." They were in the condition of Ireland, which was "a conquered kingdom," and which, according to Sir Edward Coke, had no interest in the Great Charter, before the time when the privileges of that instrument were extended to it by the favor of the first Tudor king. The practical conclusion was: "The plantations, ... without any regard to Magna Charta, may be ruled and governed by such methods as the person who wears the crown, for the good and advancement of those settlements, shall think most proper and convenient." Not only had Massachusetts no law-making or executive power of her own. The safeguard which the struggles of past ages had won for the lives, liberty, and property of Englishmen, afforded to her people no protection in the courts of England.

Such, briefly set forth, were the doctrines which Andros, as "Governor in Chief in and over the territory and dominion of New England," was sent thither to reduce to practice, as opportunity should serve. His jurisdiction for the present embraced nothing except the colony of Plymouth and the County of Cornwall, in addition to the territory that had been presided over by Dudley. In his administration he was to have the advice of a Council, the first members of which were appointed by the King; the Governor might displace them at pleasure, but the King was to fill the vacancies. With the consent of his Council, the

Governor might make laws, which were to conform to the laws of England, and to be sent to England for the royal sanction. He might require the oath of allegiance to be taken by any and every person within the jurisdiction. He was to regulate the currency, and to prevent the coining of money. He could reprieve and pardon. With the advice of his Council, he could make regulations of trade; constitute courts of justice (whose decisions, however, were subject to an appeal to the King); and appoint judicial, executive, military, and naval officers. He was commander of the militia and of the forts, and Vice-Admiral and Admiralty Judge. He was empowered to "agree with planters and inhabitants" for the payment of quit-rents. He was to protect liberty of conscience, and particularly to "countenance and encourage" the Church of England. With the advice of his Council, he might impose taxes for the support of his government; but the old laws and customs for raising money were to continue in effect till superseded by further legislation. Andros was to receive an annual salary of twelve hundred pounds, as "Governor of New England, out of the revenue arising there;" and his stipend was to be remitted from England "until a revenue should be settled in New England for the support of the government." He brought for the use of his government a seal and a flag, both of a new device.

1686. June 7.

Andros had now been absent from America

nearly six years, during which time he had received the honor of knighthood, and risen to the command of a regiment in the royal army. When the well-proved wickedness of Colonel Kirk had satisfied King James of the expediency of retaining him for service in England, it was natural that he should turn his attention to Sir Edmund Andros as the person most fit to carry out his plans in America. He had known Andros many years as a person of resolution and capacity, of arbitrary principles, and of habits and tastes absolutely foreign to those of the Puritans of New England; and could scarcely have been ignorant of his personal grudge against Connecticut, and especially against Massachusetts, on account of old affronts. It was not to be doubted that here was a man prepared to be as oppressive and offensive as the King desired.

The frigate which brought the Governor arrived in Boston harbor on a Sunday. Attended by a company of soldiers, he landed the next day. At the end of Long Wharf he was met by "a great number of merchants and others, with all the militia of horse and foot," who escorted him to the town-house, at the head of King (now State) Street. There he caused his commission to be read, produced the great seal of his government, took, and administered to eight Counsellors, the oaths of office, and ordered that all persons holding civil or military office should provisionally continue to exercise their functions. A meeting of the

Dec. 19.
Dec. 20.

Council was appointed for the ninth day after, to afford opportunity to summon the Counsellors from Plymouth and Rhode Island. Five Counsellors then appeared from each of those colonies. The Governor caused his commission to be read again; administered the oaths of allegiance and of office to the new-comers; took an oath "for observing the Acts of Trade and Navigation;" and directed an issue of new commissions to officers throughout his jurisdiction. It was ordered that certain duties hitherto levied in Massachusetts on imported articles should henceforward be levied and collected in the other colonies of the jurisdiction, and that "a single country rate of one penny in the pound" should be assessed for present use. The Council were informed that the Lords of the Committee expected to receive every quarter a report of proceedings in the government; and an effective step was taken for the disarming of opposition to the intended proceedings, by the appointment of Dudley to be censor of the press, accompanied with a prohibition of the printing of anything, "either in Boston or Cambridge," without his license.

Dec. 30.
1687.
Jan. 3.
Jan. 4.
Jan. 22.
Jan. 28.

After the first week the meetings of the Council were thinly attended. Out of twenty-six members besides the Governor and Secretary, sometimes not more than six or eight appeared, and in some instances even a smaller number. The members who came were worthy to be assessors of the Gov

ernor and Randolph. Stoughton was very rarely absent, and Dudley still less frequently. Thus far Dudley was fully in the interest of Andros. Thus far Stoughton was the shadow and echo of Dudley. Accordingly, the Governor and the Secretary could take their measures with scarcely a show of opposition. Dudley and Stoughton were gratified by being appointed "judges of the Superior Court," the former with an annual salary of a hundred and fifty pounds, the latter of a hundred and twenty pounds. April 25. July 27.

In legislation there was a prudent delay, probably intended by the Governor to give him opportunity to observe the temper of the people. One very important Act, however, — the first in the collection of his statutes, — was passed within a few weeks after the beginning of his administration. It was entitled, "An Act for the continuing and establishing of several Rates, Duties, and Imposts." It provided, that, every year, beginning four months after the enactment, the Treasurer should send his warrant to the constable and selectmen of every town, requiring the inhabitants to choose a taxing commissioner; that the commissioner and the selectmen should in the next following month make a list of persons and a valuation of estates within their respective towns; that, in the next month after this, the commissioners for the towns in each county should meet at their respective county towns, and compare and correct their respective lists, to March 3.

be forwarded to the Treasurer; and that he should thereupon issue his warrant to the constables to collect the taxes, so assessed, within ten weeks. And every commissioner or selectman neglecting to perform this duty was punishable by a fine. The *Rate* was adjusted by this law according to the ancient system of Massachusetts. The prescribed duties on imported articles were partly specific, and partly *ad valorem*. The excise duties were on the manufacture and sale of liquors, and were specific. Randolph wrote that this law "passed with great difficulty," because the colonists "have always accounted themselves a free people, and look upon this Act to be a clog upon them and their estates."

The feelings of the people were shocked by a proceeding of a different description. On the day of his landing in Boston, the Governor "spoke to the ministers in the library about accommodation as to a meeting-house, that might so contrive the time, as one house might serve two assemblies." The ministers, and a committee of four other persons from each congregation, met "to consider what answer to give the Governor." They "agreed that they could not with a good conscience consent that their meeting-houses should be made use of for the Common-Prayer worship;" and two of the ministers, Mather and Willard, were deputed to carry this reply, who "thoroughly discoursed his Excellency about the meeting-houses, in great

1686. Dec. 21.

Dec. 22.

plainness, showing that they could not consent." If the demand had been for the use of the building for a mass, or for a carriage-house for Juggernaut, it could scarcely have been to the generality of the people more offensive. For a little time the Governor forbore. But before long, Passion Week drew near; and his episcopal fervors overcame his delicacy. He sent Randolph to demand the keys of the Old South Meeting-house, 1687. March 23. that it might be opened for a service of his church on Good Friday. A committee of the congregation waited on him to say that "the land and house were theirs, and that they could not consent to part with it to such use." But Goodman Needham, the sexton, was frightened into opening the doors and ringing the bell; and thence- March 25. forward Episcopal worship was held there on Sundays and other holidays of the church, at hours when the building was not occupied by the regular congregation.

The Congregational churches had cause for alarm on yet another account. There was debate at the Council table on the question whether the laws compelling townsmen to pay the salaries of ministers should be allowed to remain in force. Reporting his proceedings to the Lords of the Committee, at the end of the first three months of his government, Andros made special mention of the lodgment he had effected in the Old South Meeting-house. At the same time, he described the colonies as being poor, partly in consequence

of the Indian war. He represented the prospects of his administration as hopeful, though not without obstacles to be apprehended in extending it to Connecticut; and he nominated twelve persons as qualified to fill vacancies which might from time to time occur in the Council.

For the profit of the agents of the new government, the administration of justice was made oppressively expensive. An order went
May 25. out that all public records of "the late governments now annexed unto this dominion" should be brought to Boston, whither of course it became necessary that they should be followed by whosoever needed to consult them. At Boston only could conclusive action be had on
June 1. wills presented for probate; and a journey to that place was accordingly always liable to be required of widows and heirs. Another or-
March 5. der made it necessary that all deeds, mortgages, and wills should be registered by Randolph and his deputies, who should be paid by fees. Excessive fees were demanded; and, in the uncertainty as to what amount of profit might be had from them by the Secretary, Randolph made an advantageous bargain by farm-
May 4. ing them out to one John West, whom he appointed to be his deputy, and who was also made judge of the Inferior Court of the
June 9. County of Suffolk. It was believed that juries were corruptly constituted; and the adoption of the rule to kiss the Bible, in taking the

oath, instead of the Puritan practice of lifting the right hand, discouraged, in frequent instances, the appearance of conscientious witnesses and jurors. The new form was commonly regarded as idolatrous, and, sooner than observe it, many persons, when drawn to serve upon a jury, would expose themselves to be proceeded against by a process for contempt. The laws were not "printed, as was the custom in the former governments, so that the people were at a great loss to know what was law and what not."

Two things vital to the objects of the new government were especially exasperating to the citizens. One was the arbitrary imposition of taxes; the other, the demand for new patents to be taken out for the ownership of land. The reader knows, that, from the earliest period of New England, towns had their executive magistracy; they held meetings as often as occasion arose for deliberation on matters of common concern; they taxed themselves, and made other orders, for the maintenance of their roads, their schools, and their poor; and, when a colony tax was imposed by the General Court, each town, having received notice of the proportion which it was to contribute, proceeded, by its municipal officers, to assess the sum on its inhabitants. There was now no General Court; the Governor in Council imposed taxes; and the first act of his administration required a compulsory assessment of them by Commissioners and Selectmen

It was not to be expected that privileges so important and so long enjoyed should be withdrawn without creating dissatisfaction and disturbance. At length the time arrived that had been specified in the Act for its provisions to go into effect. A warrant from the Treasurer came to each town to choose a Commissioner to act with the Selectmen in assessing upon its citizens the sum at which the town was rated. Several towns of Massachusetts, including every town but three in Essex County, refused to proceed to the election which was ordered.

July.

August.

The proceedings of the government against Ipswich, then perhaps the second town in the colony, attracted particular attention at the time, and will serve for a specimen of the encroachments of the Governor and Council on the one hand, and of the course and the consequences of resistance to it on the other. On the reception of "an order from John Usher, Treasurer, for choosing a Commissioner to join with the Selectmen, to assess the inhabitants according to an Act of his Excellency the Governor and Council for laying of rates," John Wise, minister of Ipswich, met several others of the principal inhabitants at the house of John Appleton, who had been a Deputy under the old government. The persons assembled "discoursed and concluded that it was not the town's duty any way to assist that ill way of raising money without a General Assembly." At a town meeting held the next day, they defended this view

Aug. 23.

of the rights of their fellow-citizens, and were sustained by a vote of the town, which refused to choose a Commissioner, and forbade the Selectmen to impose any rate.

For this offence, Wise, Appleton, and four others were arraigned before a court constituted by special commission, and consisting of Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, John Usher, and Edward Randolph. The court sat, not in the County of Middlesex, where the alleged offence was committed, but in Boston, in the County of Suffolk. "The jurors, most of them (as was said) non-freeholders of any land in the colony, were some of them strangers and foreigners, gathered up . . . . . to serve the present turn." The prisoners were treated with insolent contempt. One of the judges told them that they "must not think the laws of England followed them to the ends of the earth." Dudley said, "Mr. Wise, you have no more privileges left you than not to be sold for slaves." Wise and his friends were "remanded from verdict to prison, and there kept one-and-twenty days," after which their sentences were pronounced. Wise was "suspended from the ministerial function;" he and Appleton were each fined fifty pounds, and bound over for good behavior for a year in a thousand pounds' penalty; and the other four were amerced in sums varying from thirty to fifteen pounds, and required to give bonds to the amount of five hundred pounds each. "We judge," wrote the Ipswich patriots, "the total charge for one case

and trial, under one single information, involving us six men aforesaid in expense of time and moneys of us and our relations for our necessary succor and support, to amount to more, but no less, than four hundred pound money."

So vigorous a course of proceeding as this was decisive. Unless the country was prepared for violent measures of redress, submission was unavoidable. Men who possessed the confidence of their fellow-citizens, and were fit to take the lead in public movements, could not be expected to persevere in a course of opposition, at once fruitless to the public, and ruinous to themselves. The towns succumbed. The moneys demanded by the Governor and his Council were paid agreeably to assessments made, under their direction, by the sheriff and three justices, in cases where the more regular process failed.

The other principal system of oppression that was entered on was still more intolerable. The doctrine of the invalidity of existing private titles to land was to be practically asserted. The Governor gave out that whoever wished to have his title confirmed might do so on an application to him and the payment of a quit-rent. The kind of treatment to which a proprietor exposed himself by neglect of this notice may be shown in a single instance. James Russell and others were join owners of a piece of pasture-land in Charlestown A portion of it, consisting of some hundred and fifty acres, was given by the Governor to Colone'

Lydgett, one of his favorites. Russell, venturing to remonstrate with warmth, was punished by a writ of intrusion, brought to eject him from a farm, of which he was sole proprietor, in the same town; and, "to stop prosecution, he was forced to petition for a patent, he having a tenant who, it was feared, would comply in anything that might have been to his prejudice; and so his land would have been condemned under color of law, and given away, as well as his pasturage was, without law." He owned an island in Casco Bay. A person who had been sent by the Governor to survey it, showed Russell the plan which had been made, and told him, that, if he wanted a patent for it, he must satisfy the Governor with ready money; otherwise, Mr. Usher, the Treasurer, was to have it. The price demanded in this instance was only three pence an acre for six hundred and fifty acres. But, in the earliest transactions of this nature, the amount of the sum extorted was not the main consideration. The material thing was to get a practical recognition of the principle, and especially to tempt or frighten the leading men into compliance, after which the extortions might proceed without limit.

Many of the towns had commons, used by the inhabitants for the pasturage of cattle. Often these lands, situate near the centre of settlements, were of great value. By the Governor's orders, portions of the common lands of Lynn, Cambridge, and other towns were enclosed, and given to some of his friends.

Legal transactions were rendered more and more grievously burdensome by excessive fees and bills of costs. West, the Deputy-Secretary, had his fortune to make out of the people, after reimbursing himself for the large sum for which he farmed his office from Randolph; and he required gratuities from the officers of the courts, which they in turn had to collect from suitors and others alike by the oppressive impositions which were made lawful, and by such indirections as it was always easy for them to practise. Persons especially refractory were dealt with by having their cases carried out of the county, to be tried by a court at a distance from their homes. Meanwhile, the Council, though partly composed of men who were more or less desirous of protecting their fellow-citizens, had become merely a board of registry of the edicts of Andros and his creatures. These better men were "much dissatisfied and discouraged." The Governor "did quickly neglect the great number of the Council, and chiefly adhere to, and govern by, the advice of a few others, the principal of them strangers to the country, without estates or interests therein to oblige them, persons of known and declared prejudices against this poor people, and that had plainly laid their chiefest designs and hopes to make unreasonable profit of them..... The debates in Council were not so free as ought to have been, but too much overruled, and a great deal of harshness continually expressed against persons and opinions that did not please." From

the first the Governor disregarded the Council's advice. "There was never any fair way of taking and counting the number of the Counsellors consenting and dissenting, that so the majority might be known." Motions for delay, with a view to deliberation, "were ever disacceptable, and entertained with no little displacency." "After a little while there were no set times appointed or notice given for the making of laws, that so the members of the Council might attend in a fuller number to be helpful therein. . . . . So that it might be truly affirmed, that, in effect, four or five persons, and those not so favorably inclined and disposed as were to be wished for, had the rule over and gave law to a territory, the largest and most considerable of any belonging to the dominion of the crown."

So passed the first year of Sir Edmund Andros's administration in Massachusetts. If the reader wonders how it was possible that men of English blood should bear such rule, let him reflect on the condition of patriots at the same time in the parent country. If the great English people stood baffled and amazed, and all hope of successful opposition for the present had died out of the hearts of men that had shared the counsels of Russell and Sidney, who may wonder that he does not see poor Massachusetts in an attitude for desperate conflict?

By Andros's commission, the "Province of Maine" was comprehended within the limits of his government, with an extension of the territory which the name of *Maine* had hitherto denoted.

The grant of American lands which the present King, when Duke of York, had received from his brother, included a district on the eastern side of Kennebec River, reaching as far as to the River St. Croix. Andros, while Governor of New York for the Duke, sent thither a force to take possession, and erected a small fortification on the peninsula of Pemaquid, establishing there also a custom-house and a factory for the Indian trade.

1677.

When Dongan succeeded Andros at New York, he was not long unmindful of his master's eastern province, still called the *County of Cornwall*. He despatched two Commissioners to manage its affairs, John West, who, as has been related, soon after became unfavorably conspicuous in Massachusetts, and John Palmer, who was subsequently to act there a still more important part. Already assuming the theory of provincial government on which Andros was presently to proceed in the latter colony, Palmer and West called upon the inhabitants of Cornwall to buy, at exorbitant prices, new patents for their lands, at the same time appropriating large tracts to themselves, and to English partners of theirs in New York. A vessel from Portsmouth, going with a cargo of wine to a landing-place on the River Penobscot, on the supposition of its being within the French jurisdiction, as defined by the treaty of Breda, was seized on her return by Palmer and West for not having paid duties at Pemaquid, — a proceeding regarded in Massachusetts

1683. August.

1686.

as an offensive interference with her traffic in the eastern country.

In the government of Andros, two Counsellors, namely, Edward Tyng, of Falmouth, and Bartholomew Gedney, of Salem, who had property in Maine, represented the consolidated Eastern Province. The extortions which now began to be practised in Massachusetts in respect to the renewal of land-titles were plied in Maine with still more freedom and severity. From the feeble population of that province less resistance was to be expected; and the example there presented of easy success familiarized the people of the stronger colony to the depredations to which they were equally exposed.

Robert Mason and John Hinckes represented New Hampshire in the Governor's Council. In that province, discouraged by the results of its recent turbulence, no opposition to the new order of things appears to have been attempted. Plymouth also yielded with scarcely a struggle, though not without entreaty and complaint. In immediate answer to the summons of the Governor, five of the eight persons belonging to that colony who had been named as Counsellors came to Boston, and took their seats at the first meeting of the Board. They were, Thomas Hinckley, lately Governor, and William Bradford, lately Deputy-Governor of the colony, with Barnaby Lothrop, John Walley, and Nathaniel Clarke. Andros had not the same advantage in Plymouth as in Massachusetts for that levy of a tax which was one of the first acts of his

administration; for in Massachusetts, but not in the sister colony, the general scheme of taxation which he adopted was but the revival of a law of the earlier government. In Plymouth, as in Massachusetts, some opposition was made to his demand for money, but with similar ill-success. The town of Taunton, when summoned to assess the inhabitants, replied, that they did not feel "free to raise money on the inhabitants without their own assent by an Assembly." For transmitting this reply, Shadrach Wilbur, the town-clerk, was

1687. Aug. 31. "punished with a fine of twenty marks and three months' imprisonment, and bound to find sureties by recognizance to appear the next court."

The Address of Rhode Island to the King, praying for the continuance of the privileges granted by his brother, but submitting every thing to his discretion, had the effect of immediately causing that colony to be included in the commission of Andros. He was instructed at the same time to demand the surrender of the charter, which he did accordingly, by a letter to Governor Clarke, on the third day after his arrival at Boston. Rhode Island needed no compulsion; and, of the seven Counsellors appointed to represent her, — namely, Walter Clarke, John Coggeshall, Richard Arnold, Walter Newberry, John Alborough, John Greene, and John Sanford, — the first-named five took their seats immediately on being summoned Greene was in England. Sanford probably was

1686. June 29.

Sept. 13.

Dec. 22.

Dec. 30.

only kept away by accident. Richard Smith was subsequently appointed a Counsellor for the Narragansett country, but it does not appear that he ever acted as such.

Rhode Island had never known so quiet a time as now, for a little while, it was to enjoy under the government of Andros. It made no opposition to his measures, and took no interest in determining what from time to time they should be. Rarely does a member of the Council from this colony appear to have been present at any meeting after the first novelty was over. John Greene, in England, was busying himself in the Governor's interest. He "acknowledged his Majesty's grace and favor in sending over his Honor, Sir Edmund Andros," and solicited an enlargement of the Governor's powers in respect to a disposal of the Narragansett lands. To this business Andros attended with his accustomed assiduity, and with his usual devotion to the objects of the court. A memoir which he sent to England embraced a full and clear history of claims, public and private, to the Narragansett country. He condemned the pretension of the Atherton Company, as resting upon extortionate dealings with the Indians; and he upheld the alleged cession from them obtained by Greene, as vesting in the King a good title to the whole of the territory; which title, he maintained, had never since been alienated, notwithstanding the grants in the charters of the two colonies between which the country lay.

1687. Jan.

Oct.

Connecticut, as well as Rhode Island, was prospectively included in Andros's government, though it was not assumed in his instructions that as yet Connecticut had made submission. On the day
1686. Dec. 22. when he summoned Rhode Islanders to his Council he sent an express messenger to Hartford with a letter to Governor Treat. "I am," he wrote, "commanded and authorized by his Majesty, at my arrival in these parts, to receive in his name the surrender of your charter, if tendered by you, and to take you into my present care and charge, as other parts of the government, assuring his Majesty's good subjects of his countenance and protection in all things relating to his service and their welfare." By the same conveyance a letter was despatched from Randolph, informing the dilatory colony that yet another writ of *quo warranto* had been issued, and explaining, in discourteous terms, that it would be prudent to conciliate the royal favor by a prompt compliance with Andros's demand.

Governor Treat, who, meanwhile, had hastened to congratulate Sir Edmund on his arrival,
1687. Jan. 7. now convoked the General Court, which,
Jan. 26. rather than take action of its own on a matter of such delicacy, passed a vote to "leave it with the Governor and Council to take care to do what was requisite to be done . . . . . in reference to affairs in England, and the last *quo warranto*." Under the instructions of the Court, however, an answer was prepared to the message of Andros,

and a letter to Lord Sunderland, Secretary of State.

In the latter paper the Court recited the steps which they had taken in respect to the legal proceedings in England against their charter, and concluded with language which the government there saw fit to interpret as a voluntary surrender. "We are his Majesty's loyal subjects," they wrote, "and we are heartily desirous that we may continue in the same station that we are in, if it may consist with his princely wisdom to continue us so. But, if his Majesty's royal purposes be otherwise to dispose of us, we shall, as in duty bound, submit to his royal command; and if it be to conjoin us with the other colonies and provinces under Sir Edmund Andros, his Majesty's present Governor, it will be more pleasing than to be joined with any other province."

In reply to the letter to himself, in which Treat had said for his colony, "We are well content to remain as we are, and to make no alteration in our present standing," Andros wrote to him, Feb. 25. in the name of his Council, remonstrating against any further delay. It "hazarded," he said, "the advantages that might be to the colony," Feb. 28. and made him "incapable to serve it as he would, but occasioned the contrary." The correspondence continued through the spring and into the summer, with iterations of the same topics. It was conducted in a civil tone on both sides, but the passive position of Connecticut was not

shaken. The General Court met four times, but transacted very little business, or, at all events, put very little on their records, in relation to the subject which must have weighed most heavily on their minds. "They did not see sufficient reason to vary from the answer they gave to Sir Edmund Andros, to a motion of a surrender." They "left it with the honored Governor or Deputy-Governor, and so many of the Assistants as might make up seven with the Governor or Deputy-Governor, to be a Council to act and transact all such emergent occasions and affairs as should fall in, in the intervals of the General Court;" and they held their annual election of colony officers as usual. Mr. Whiting, their agent in England, was doing his best for their service. It was with little hope of effecting anything, as he constantly informed them; but successive accidents favored his perseverance, and the legal proceedings against the colony were never brought to an issue.

March 30.
May 12.
June 11.
June 14.
Aug. 9.
Sept. 21.

Meanwhile, every exertion was made by Andros and his instruments to influence the leading men of Connecticut to a voluntary surrender of the charter. Palmer and Graham visited some of the principal towns. From New Haven they wrote to Andros that at Fairfield they had "fully discoursed Major Gold, then Deputy, and several other people, concerning a surrender unto his Majesty, and the great advantages that would accrue to them thereby." They had similar con-

May 5.

ferences at Milford and New Haven, and "found all united in one mind, that it was their only interest to be joined to York, and they did expect that his Majesty would accordingly dispose of them that way; but they were so foolishly fond of their charter, that they unanimously agreed to be passive and not active in the case; that is, they would never surrender, but, if it were his Majesty's pleas ure to take their charter from them, they would submit thereto. The Governor," they continued, "gives your Excellency his service, and proves, with the rest of the Council here, very zealous for his Majesty's service, and promoting your Excellency's proposals. The Council have already, without the knowledge of the Deputy [Deputy-Governor Bishop], wrote to the Secretary of State concerning the whole matter, and have surrendered their interest unto his Majesty's pleasure, and informed that the obstruction of the rest remains with the Deputies, which they cannot compose; so that, on the whole, we believe that his Majesty will be constrained to proceed to a judgment against them; so that it will be your Excellency's interest to make court at home for accomplishing the matter, their agent having, in his last, informed them that it was the discourse at Whitehall that all to the westward of Connecticut will be joined to New York. The rest is not worth desiring. We are afraid their agent, for his own private gains, is a great cause of their stubbornness."

It is probable that this information concerning

the supineness and want of concert in Connecticut, and further information of the same sort which may have followed, determined Andros, after due reflection, to settle the pending question by a *stroke of state*. The time seemed favorable for such a movement; for, by the successes of the summer, opposition in Massachusetts was for the present silenced, if not overcome. The collection of taxes levied by a despotic authority had been enforced, and the system of making all proprietors pay rent to the King for their lands and houses, as his tenants, had been hopefully inaugurated. Taking advantage of this repose, the Governor obtained the advice of his Council to proceed to Connecticut, in order to assume the government there, "with such of the Council, or other persons, guards, and attendance, as he should think fit." On the same day, he wrote to Governor Treat, that, "pursuant to effectual orders and commands from his Majesty," he was presently to set out on that journey.

Oct. 22.

He executed his purpose so promptly, that he must have reached Hartford almost as soon as his letter. He was attended from Boston by "a company of gentlemen and grenadiers, to the number of sixty or upwards." Some hasty arrangements were made for his reception. At Wethersfield, where he crossed a ferry, he was met by a troop of horse, who escorted him to Hartford. There he found "the train-bands of divers towns . . . . . united to pay him their

Oct. 31.

respects." According to a friendly report, "he was greeted and caressed by the Governor and Assistants," and there was "some treaty between his Excellency and them that evening."

Tradition has preserved the memory of a striking incident of that evening's conference. It relates, that, while a discussion was proceeding in the presence of a numerous company, the charter of the colony was brought in and laid upon a table. Suddenly the lights were extinguished; and when they were rekindled, the charter had disappeared. Captain Wadsworth had taken it away, and secreted it in the hollow trunk of a tree which stood hard by, in the grounds of Samuel Wyllys, a Magistrate.

No writing of the period alludes to this remarkable occurrence. What is recorded, on good authority, is, that, on the morning after Sir Edmund's arrival at Hartford, he was "waited on and conducted by the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants, and Deputies, to the Court chamber, and by the Governor himself conducted to the Governor's seat; and being there seated, (the late Governor, Assistants, and Deputies being present, and the chamber thronged as full of people as it was capable of,) his Excellency declared that his Majesty had, according to their desire, given him a commission to come and take on him the government of Connecticut, and caused his commission to be publicly read. That being done, his Excellency showed that it was his Maj- Nov. 1.

esty's pleasure to make the late Governor and Captain John Allyn members of his Council, and called upon them to take their oaths, which they did forthwith; and all this in that great and public assembly, *nemine contradicente;* only one man said that they first desired that they might continue as they were. . . . . The Secretary, who was well acquainted with all the transactions of the General Court, and very well understood their meaning and intent in all, delivered their common seal to Sir Edmund Andros."

The more brief public record of "A General Court held . . . . . by order of the Governor," merely contains a list of the Magistrates and Deputies present, with these words: —

"His Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain-General and Governor of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion in New England, by order from his Majesty, James the Second, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of this colony of Connecticut, it being by his Majesty annexed to the Massachusetts and other colonies under his Excellency's government.

"FINIS."

The separate history of Connecticut was closed for the present. Connecticut was the last of the New England colonies to fall. New England was consolidated under one despotism.

CHAPTER XIII.

ANDROS IN MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE.

Sir Edmund Andros remained in Connecticut long enough to arrange its government for the future. From Hartford he proceeded to New Haven, Fairfield, and New London, establishing courts of judicature and appointing sheriffs in each of the counties, commissioning all persons who had filled the office of Assistant to be Justices of the Peace, and instituting military officers in each town, and revenue officers in the several sea-ports. As he traversed the colony, making these arrangements, he is said to have been "everywhere cheerfully and gratefully received."

In Massachusetts no such welcome awaited him. At the first Council held after his return, a complaint was made against Mr. Morton, minister of Charlestown, for preaching a sermon "containing several seditious expressions." Morton was bound over to take his trial at the first session of the Superior Court, and to keep the peace meanwhile. He was no insignificant person. From being a Fellow in the University of Oxford, and a clergyman of the Established Church, he had turned Independent, and, under

1687. Nov. 16. Nov. 19.

the Act of Uniformity, being expelled from his living. Having a high reputation for scholarship, he set up a school at Newington Green, near London, where Daniel Defoe, who commends him in high terms, was one of his pupils. After the death of John Rogers, President of Harvard College after Urian Oakes, who succeeded Hoar, the eyes of many friends of that institution were turned to Morton as his successor. It was no doubt with the expectation of receiving that appointment that he came out to New England, preceding Andros by a few months. Dudley being then in power, other arrangements had been made for the College; and Morton became Pastor of the Charlestown church.

At Boston, Andros appears to have received the King's Declaration of Indulgence, brought thither during his absence. He thereupon issued orders for a general thanksgiving throughout his government, "for his Majesty's health, and his many royal favors bestowed on his subjects here." In New England, as in the parent country, the sanguine portion of Dissenters from the church received the Declaration with joy; the sagacious with distrust and apprehension.

Dec. 29. The consolidation of the government of New England was speedily completed by an Act of Council which extended to Connecticut the obligations of all the laws that had been passed in the time between the arrival of Andros and the annexation of that province to the "Dominion of New England."

The Governor might now easily persuade himself that the largest and the hardest part of his and his master's work was done, and that he needed to have little anxiety as to his power to effect what remained. Accordingly, the legislation which was to be destructive of the ancient liberties of the colonies was henceforward prosecuted with vigor. Internal trade was obstructed by a law which prohibited the business of travelling merchants or peddlers, and confined every dealer's sales to his own town. "An Act for Additional Duties of Imposts and Excise, for the better collecting and securing his Majesty's Revenue," laid heavy burdens upon commerce, and extorted an excessive tax from the consumer. The privileges of the towns were a main obstacle in the way of the usurpations which were in train. Town-meetings for the choice of officers were by ancient practice held in the spring. Before the day for these elections came round a second time under Andros's government, an Act was passed which struck at the root of the municipal franchises. It forbade more than one town-meeting to be held in a year, "upon any pretence or color whatsoever." At that meeting were to be chosen Selectmen, Constables, and a Commissioner for the year. The Commissioner was to assess upon the inhabitants the tax laid by the Governor in Council upon the town. The Selectmen were to be overseers of the poor, of bridges, of meeting-houses, and of schools, and keepers of the town's property of every kind;

1688. Jan.

Feb. 15.

March 17.

and they might make assessments for these objects, but not without the approbation of two Justices of the Peace. If a Selectman or Commissioner, chosen by a town, refused to serve, two Justices of the Peace might appoint another inhabitant to fill the vacancy. The refusal of a Constable to serve was to be punished by a fine of five pounds. It may be presumed that the government, had it lasted, would soon have been centralized still more, by giving to the Justices, creatures of the Governor, the power to appoint local officers for what had been towns, without waiting for the formality of a municipal election. "An Act for settling the Militia" brought the military force of the country into regular subordination to the imported Commander-in-Chief. The Governor and Council decreed that all local laws should cease to have force, and that the people of the jurisdiction were "not to be guided by any laws or orders but such as were made and published by his Excellency and Council, or the laws of England where they had not provided." As towns could no longer hold meetings "to make complaints of grievances," so, before long, "whereas by constant usage any person might remove out of the country at his pleasure, a law was made that no man should do so without the Governor's leave," — a measure reasonably regarded by the people as an interdiction of attempts to seek redress in England.

March 24.

When these strong measures had taken partia

effect, and it seemed that opposition, if not crushed, was intimidated and disabled, the business of vacating the ancient titles to land was entered upon with new vigor. Several instances of this sort of proceeding are on record, attested by the oaths of the parties concerned. Under this sanction, Joseph Lynde, of Charlestown, a man of character and substance, told his story as follows: —

"In the year 1687, Sir Edmund Andros . . . . . did inquire of him, the said Lynde, what title he had to his lands; who showed him many deeds for land that he the said Lynde possessed, and particularly for land that the said Lynde was certainly informed would quickly be given away from him if he did not use means to obtain a patent for it. The deed being considered by Sir Edmund Andros, he said it was worded well, and recorded according to New England custom, or words to the same purpose. He further inquired how the title was derived. He, the said Lynde, told him, that he that he bought it of had it of his father-in-law in marriage with his wife; and his said father, from Charlestown; and the said town, from the General Court grant of the Massachusetts Bay, and also by purchase from the natives. And he said, my title was worth nothing if that were all. At another time, after showing him an Indian deed for land, he said that their hand was no more worth than a scratch with a bear's paw, undervaluing all my titles, though every way legal under our former charter government. I then petitioned

for a patent for my whole estate; but Mr. West, Deputy-Secretary, told me, I must have so many patents as there were counties that I had parcels of land in, if not towns. Finding the thing so chargeable and difficult, I delayed; upon which I had a writ of intrusion served upon me, in the beginning of the summer, 1688. . . . . I gave Mr. Graham, Attorney-General, three pounds in money, promising, that, if he would let the action fall, I would pay court charges, and give him ten pound when I had a patent completed for that small parcel of land that said writ was served upon me for. . . . . About the same time, Mr. Graham, Attorney-General, asked said Lynde what he would do about the rest of his land, telling him, the said Lynde, that he would meet with the like trouble about all the rest of his lands that he possessed; and, were it not for the Governor's going to New York at this time, there would be a writ of intrusion against every man in the colony of any considerable estate, or as many as a cart could hold; and, for the poorer sort of people, said Sir Edmund Andros would take other measures, or words to the same purpose."

That this system of extortion might not fail through any hope of indulgence on the part of the government, writs of intrusion were served upon some of the most considerable of those persons who did not come forward to buy new patents for their lands. Samuel Shrimpton, a man of large property, was a Counsellor by the King's appointment.

If he could not be spared, less important men could scarcely hope for favor. The rent of Deer Island, in Boston harbor, had from an early time been appropriated to the maintenance of a school. Shrimpton hired the island of the town, and kept it by a tenant. Sherlock, the sheriff, came thither and seized the tenant, "and turned him and his family afloat on the water when it was a snowy day, ... and put two men, whom he brought with him, into possession of the said island, as he said on behalf of King James the Second." Two of the Selectmen made oath to a conversation which on that occasion occurred between themselves and Graham, the Governor's Attorney. "We, the deponents, told him we would answer in behalf of the town. The said Graham replied, there was no town of Boston, nor was there any town in the country. We made answer, we were a town, and owned so to be by Sir Edmund Andros, Governor, in the warrant sent us for making a rate. Then the said Graham told us we might stand the trial, if we would; but bid us have a care what we did, saying it might cost us all we were worth, and something else too, for aught he knew."

The people of Plymouth colony were much incensed by ill-treatment offered to Mr. Wiswall, minister of Duxbury. Clark's Island, in Plymouth harbor, had been appropriated to the support of the poor of that town. Andros gave it to the Councellor Nathaniel Clarke, one of his creatures. Mr. Wiswall interested himself in a collection of some

money, by voluntary contribution, to defend at law the right of the town. This was construed as an offence, and Mr. Wiswall was summoned to Boston to answer for it. "He was then lame in both feet with the gout, fitter for a bed than a journey; therefore wrote to the Governor, praying that he might be excused until he should be able to travel, and engaged that then he would attend any court." But the Governor was inexorable, and the minister had to go to Boston. There, the Council having kept him standing in their presence, "till the anguish of his feet and shoulders had almost overcome him," he was compelled to enter into a recognizance for a second appearance, and to pay more than four pounds for fees. A repetition of these hardships brought on an illness which threatened to prove fatal. A third appearance at the capital town was required, at which he was at length judicially "delivered from the hands and humors of his tyrannical oppressors, who had exposed him to great difficulties and charges, and to two hundred and twenty-eight miles' travelling in journeying to and from Boston." The lesson was cogently taught, that it was altogether unsafe to interfere with the Governor's gifts of other people's property, and that no gravity of character, or public estimation, or distance of place, would protect from his vindictiveness.

June 21.

In their distress, the people turned to England with faint hope of relief. Perhaps it was thought that the King's exultation in the new prospect of

an heir to his throne might incline him to greater lenity than could be obtained from his representative. Perhaps there was more hope than the facts would justify of effective aid to be obtained from the Dissenting interest in the parent country. It was resolved to send Mr. Mather to make solicitation at court. Increase Mather, now forty-eight years old, was minister of the Second Church in Boston. The most eminent among the clergy of Massachusetts, he had been twice invited to become President of Harvard College, and now held that office provisionally, by an arrangement with his Boston congregation, which could not be prevailed upon to release him. A resolute adherence to the old charter had won for him the confidence of the patriots of Massachusetts, and the hostility of the present rulers.

A letter, subscribed with the initials of his name, had been received from Boston five years before by a gentleman of Amsterdam. It contained severe animadversions upon the English ministry, and eulogies upon Lord Shaftesbury, Titus Oates, and other persons obnoxious to the King's displeasure. A copy somehow obtained was conveyed to Sir Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State, who sent it to New England. Mather, brought to bay, insinuated that it was a forgery of Randolph. Randolph prosecuted him for defamation. Mather was acquitted by a jury; but Randolph had the government on his side, and contrived to keep the suit alive, partly for the important object of preventing

Mather's voyage. Mather concealed himself to avoid the service of a writ, and at length managed, by night and in disguise, to get on board a ship bound for England.

April 7.

The great features of his administration having been determined so much to his mind, the Governor found leisure for an expedition to the eastward, which he had been contemplating for some months. He hoped to recommend himself both to the King and to the colonies by frightening off the French settlers as far as to the St. Croix. He went from Boston to Portsmouth by land, and thence by sea to Casco Bay. Having visited the settlement at Pejepscot, and ascended the Kennebec several miles, he proceeded to Pemaquid, where the Rose frigate awaited him. The frigate took the Governor to the Penobscot, his special object being a conference with an adventurer named Castine, who held a little dominion of his own near the mouth of that river, in disregard of the claim of King James to its possession. Castine was a Frenchman, who had established himself some years before among the Penobscot Indians, adopted their manner of life, and taken three or four of their women for his wives.

April 26.

The Governor caused his ship to be anchored "before Castine's door," and sent an officer on shore to announce his arrival, upon which Castine and his retinue decamped and took to the woods. "The Governor landed, with other gentlemen with him, and went into the house, and found a smal.

altar in the common room, which altar and some pictures and ordinary ornaments they did not meddle with anything belonging thereto, but took away all his arms, powder, shot, iron kettles, and some trucking-cloth and his chairs, all of which were put aboard the Rose, and laid up in order to a condemnation of trading." Andros had intended to repair an old English fort on the Penobscot, and had taken with him workmen and materials for the purpose; but finding the old work gone to ruin, "was resolved to spare that charge till a more proper time offered." He then returned to Pemaquid, having informed Castine, through some Indian messengers, that his property should be restored as soon as he would come to that place and profess allegiance to the King of England.

Randolph, who had been detained at Boston by illness, met the Governor at sea, and accompanied him to Pemaquid. There the Governor had business of two kinds. Occasion had arisen for uneasiness about the temper of the Indians of Maine, who had never been reconciled after their disasters in Philip's war, and who, excited, as was thought, by the influence of Castine, had recently broken out into some hostile acts. The Indian chiefs of the neighborhood were now summoned to Pemaquid, where they "were well treated with shirts, rum, and trucking-cloth; and his Excellency in a short speech, by an interpreter, acquainted them that they should not fear the French, that he would defend them, and ordered them to call home

all their young men, and they should live quietly and undisturbed."

The other matter of business related to the recent administration of the County of Cornwall by Palmer and West, who, as deputies of Governor Dongan, had had it in charge. Randolph, confederate as he was with them, professed himself disgusted with the insolence of their proceedings. It has already been related, that, anticipating the policy which Andros had now begun to carry out in Massachusetts, they had terrified the inhabitants into taking out new grants for their lands. This grievance was felt to be the more distressing, when Andros, coming to the knowledge of what had been done, declared the patents lately bought of West and Palmer to be of no validity, "the commission [from Dongan] and the whole proceeding being illegal." "These upstart persons," Randolph wrote, had "very much oppressed the poor here." Randolph was impatient of all rapacity which interfered with his own. He ill brooked the influence of any other counsellor with his superior; the interlopers from New York were clever men, and he was not without fear that they would supplant him. Before leaving Pemaquid, the Governor directed that the works at that important post should be put in thorough repair.

CHAPTER XIV.

ENLARGED JURISDICTION OF ANDROS.

RETURNING to Boston from this expedition, Andros found a great promotion awaiting him. By a new commission, the King had constituted him Governor of all the English possessions on the mainland of America, except Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. The "Territory and Dominion" of New England was now to embrace the country between the fortieth degree of latitude and the River St. Croix, thus including New York and the Jerseys. The seat of government was to be at Boston; and a Deputy-Governor, to reside at New York, was to be the immediate head of the administration of that colony and of the Jerseys. The Governor was to be assisted by a Council consisting of forty-two members, of whom five were to constitute a quorum. The Governor might suspend a Counsellor for sufficient cause, reporting his proceeding, with the reason of it, to the King. The Governor in Council might impose and collect taxes for the support of the government, and might pass laws, which however were, within three months of their enactment, to be sent over to the Privy Council

1688. June. April 7

for approval or repeal. "Whereas there were great tracts of land within the said Territory and Dominion yet undisposed of, and other lands, tenements, and hereditaments for which the royal confirmation might be wanting," the Governor was authorized "to dispose of such lands for a moderate quit-rent, not under two shillings and sixpence for every hundred acres." He had an unrestricted prerogative to "suspend or discharge" the officers of the militia. The seal of New York was to be broken, and the seal of New England to be used for the whole jurisdiction. Liberty of conscience was to be allowed, agreeably to the Declaration of Indulgence. An account was to be kept of the entrance and clearance of vessels and cargoes, to be transmitted every year to England. The Governor was "to provide by all necessary means that no person keep any printing-press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet, or other matter whatsoever, be printed without his special leave and license first obtained."

April 16.

After a few weeks passed in Boston, Andros proceeded southward to take possession of his new government. He published his commission first in New York, and presently afterwards in East and West Jersey, settling the two last named provinces "to their great satisfaction." This might well be, for New York and New Jersey had never before had what might seem a stable government of any kind. Returning to New York, he there held a Coun-

July 31.
Aug. 11.
Aug. 15.
Aug. 18.
Aug. 22.

cil, at which members were present from all the provinces, and an order lately made for suspending a levy of taxes laid by Dongan was rescinded. There, too, Andros heard the joyful news of the birth of a Prince of Wales, and issued a proclamation for the keeping of a day of thanksgiving for that auspicious event. He next passed a month in a visit to Albany, to which place he Aug. 30–
went chiefly for the purpose of establishing Sept. 30.
a friendly understanding with the Indians of the Five Nations, who, it was feared, were coming under a dangerous influence on the part of the French.

The Indians were making disturbance again in all directions. Before going to Albany, the Governor received information of the murder, by some of them, of five Englishmen near Springfield, and of six more at Northfield, on Connecticut River. This made occasion for him to hold, on his way homeward, a consultation at Hartford, with some of the principal men of the colony and some of the native chiefs. Thence he went up to Northfield, where he was annoyed by intelligence,
Oct. 15.
brought to him from Boston, that the provisional government there, alarmed by a report of turbulent manifestations of the natives about Casco Bay, had sent a force to Maine for the protection of the settlers.

It does not appear that the Governor felt much concern about the operations of Mather in England. That sanguine emissary had not, however,

been inactive. Arriving at London after a short
May 25. passage, he in a few days obtained an
May 30. audience of the King at Whitehall. The King was now diligently courting the Dissenters, and he received Mather with gracious professions. At the first interview, Mather did no more than present Addresses, from ministers of Massachusetts and Plymouth, of thanks for the Declaration of In-
June 1. dulgence. At a second, two days after, he opened his case against Andros, and was directed to present in writing a statement of the
July 2. grievances complained of. Subsequently,
Sept. 26. the King received him three times, and re-
Oct. 16. newed his promises of favor. Meanwhile Mather "made as many friends as he could." William Penn "treated him with much civility, ... and the Roman Catholics themselves used him very courteously." It was said that he came into friendly relations with Father Petre. But this he denied. 'Some that were friends to New England strongly advised him to seek an acquaintance with that gentleman, and use his interest with the King; but he always declined it, and said it was next to going to the Devil for help, and he could never find in his heart to do it." The result of his observations upon the King was, that he "said, in his own mind, 'I will see thy face again no more.' He thought that he had heard good words enough, and saw they were all that he was like to be put off withal."

But he had not confined himself to endeavors

in that exalted quarter. Jointly with Samuel Nowell and Elisha Hutchinson, formerly Assistants of Massachusetts, whom he found in London, he presented a petition to the Lords of the Committee, which received so much notice as to be referred by them to the Attorney-General. The memorial "prayed, that the right which they [the Massachusetts people] had in their estates before the government was changed might be confirmed; and that no laws might be made, or moneys raised, without an Assembly, with sundry other particulars. . . . The clerk, William Blathwayt, sent to the Attorney-General a copy, wherein the essential proposal of an Assembly was wholly left out. And, being spoke to about it, he said the Earl of Sunderland blotted out that with his own hand." The King's ministers had no mind to concede either of these material points, and Mather and his friends saw that they had effected nothing. One more ineffectual effort they made with King James, all whose attention was now beginning to be far otherwise employed. Their final petition to the Lords of the Committee was as follows: "Since your Lordships seem to be of opinion that his Majesty will not at present grant an Assembly to be held within his Dominion of New England for the making of laws or raising of money, the petitioners humbly conceive that it will be much for his Majesty's service and the peaceable government of his subjects there, that, until his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to grant an

Aug. 10.

October.

Assembly, the Council shall consist of such persons as shall be considerable proprietors of lands within his Majesty's dominions; and that, the counties being continued as at present, each county may have one at least of such of the inhabitants of the same to be members thereof. And that no acts may pass for law but such as have been or shall be voted by the manifest consent of the major part in the Council. And that all laws, so made, may by printing be published for the general instruction of all the inhabitants." So small a boon, in that dismal time, were men of Massachusetts content to ask from a King of England.

The Governor's vexation about Indian affairs was not relieved when he found himself at home again in Boston. He was possessed with the idea that the Indians at the eastward were hardly treated, and that it was needless severity to send a force against them, as the Magistrates at Boston had done in his absence. He at once arrested the military movement, and discharged some natives who had been taken prisoners, at the same time issuing a proclamation, in which he called upon the Indians to set at liberty their English captives at once, and to surrender up to justice within three weeks every Indian who had killed a settler. He advised them to establish themselves near the settlements, and to cultivate relations of good-will with their English neighbors.

Oct. 26.

Sept.

The proclamation produced little effect. The

Indians were enraged and confident. Castine had taken deep offence, and his influence with the tribes was powerful. No prisoners or culprits were given up. The language of the natives was defiant. Sir Edmund abandoned his peaceful policy. Collecting hastily a force of nearly a thousand men, he led them into the eastern country. Nov. The hardships and the misfortunes of the campaign added to the burden of his unpopularity. The weather was severe. The fatigue of long marches through a country unsettled and without roads was excessive. Sickness spread among the companies. Shelter and hospital stores had been insufficiently provided. The Indians fled unharmed to the woods, where they were at home and secure. The undertaking was contemptibly abortive.

But the Governor, with all his faults, was no coward. He pressed on, and did what he could for the protection of the settlers by establishing forts at convenient distances. They were eleven in number, and were garrisoned through the winter by nearly six hundred men.

The costliness, discomforts, and inutility of this expedition occasioned clamor in the camp, and increased the discontents existing at the capital. It was natural that the despotic Governor should be assailed with more accusations than he merited. The public mind was embittered by suspicions of his being treacherous in these military transactions. It was said that he had attacked Castine's fort to provoke him to form a hostile league with

the Indians; that at Albany he had made a peace between the Five Nations and the French, with a view to a concerted action against the colonies of New England; that he had led Massachusetts troops into a wilderness in the depth of winter, in order to their ruin, and not to the defeat of their enemies. An Indian prisoner reported that his comrades had been told by the Governor that the French would seize on Boston in the spring. Another said that the Mohawks had sent a message to his tribe that they had been hired by Sir Edmund to attack the English. The apprehension that he was instructed by the King to turn New England over to the French, in the contingency of a popular outbreak in England, was confirmed by reports of French men-of-war hovering about the coast for the consummation of this object. At Pemaquid, information came to Andros of the apprehensions entertained at court of a movement of the Prince of Orange; whereupon he issued a proclamation commanding his Majesty's subjects in New England, and especially all officers, civil and military, to be on the alert, should there be an approach of any foreign fleet, to resist such landing or invasion as might be attempted. Not unjustly, it may be believed, the Governor's object was understood to be to hold New England for King James, if possible, should the parent country regain her freedom.

1689. Jan. 10.

When he returned to Boston from his unprosperous military expedition to the eastern country, he met no friendly welcome. The

March.

height to which the discontent with King James had reached in England was not unknown in America, and did not fail to exasperate the prevailing resentment against his tyrannical representative. The oppressive character of the Governor's administration created more and more indignation and alarm, as it was more developed and more discussed. The misfortunes of his recent campaign added to the burden of odium under which he lay. Exposure and disease had proved fatal to many of the soldiers, and their friends angrily asked what advantage the sacrifice had won.

One of the Governor's first acts after his return tended strongly to increase the popular disaffection. The gloomy and jealous state of men's minds had gained credit for the stories circulating in the army, to the effect that he had a treacherous understanding with the Indians, and had even furnished them with ammunition for the destruction of the force under his command. The stories were improbable, but his imprudence gave them an appearance of truth. An Indian had declared, in the hearing of some inhabitants of Sudbury, "that the Governor was a rogue, and had hired the Indians to kill the English," adding some particulars of the alleged bargain. The Sudbury men rebuked him; and when he persisted in the allegation, two of them, named Browne and Goodenow, brought him to Watertown, and there told their story to a Justice of the Peace. March 22.

By the Justice's advice, they next took him to

the Governor at Boston. The Governor was rough with them. They were not admitted to his presence till "after long waiting in a very wet and cold season," and then they "were detained until eleven or twelve o'clock at night." By this time they would have liked to be rid of the business and of their prisoner. But such was not the Governor's pleasure. He "commanded them still to take care of the Indian till his pleasure was to call for them again, and this as they would answer it. Thus being severely chidden out of his presence, they were forced with the Indian to seek their quarters where they could find them. The next morning," they say in their affidavit, "we were preparing to go home again to Sudbury (being twenty miles or more), being Saturday, when we were again sent for by the Governor by a messenger to wait on the Governor with the Indian, which we did, and waited at the Exchange or Council House in Boston, from nine o'clock in the morning till three of the clock in the afternoon, where, in the face of the country, we were made to wait upon the Indian, with many squibs and scoffs that we met withal. At last, we were commanded up before the Governor and his Council, where we were examined apart over and over, and about the sunsetting were granted leave to go home, it being the evening before the Sabbath."

The officious witnesses remained at home unmolested a week, during which time, however, five of their neighbors, probably for pro

March 25.

fessing to believe the Indian's story, were by "a messenger fetched down to Boston, where, after examination," one of them "was committed to close prison." The following week, the Sheriff of Middlesex and his deputy came up to Sudbury, and commanded "Browne and Goodenow, with three others," forthwith to appear at Boston, at Colonel Paige's house; but "it being a wet and cold day, they were detained at Judge Dudley's house at Roxbury, where, after long waiting, they had the kindness shown them to have an examination, every man apart, before Judge Dudley, Judge Stoughton, Mr. Graham, and others, and were bound over to answer, at the next Superior Court to be held at Boston, what should there be objected against them on his Majesty's account." Browne, Goodenow, and another "were each of them bound over in three hundred pound bonds, and each man two sureties in three hundred pound bond apiece." The comment of the time was not unnatural nor uncandid. "Although no man does accuse Sir Edmund merely upon Indian testimony, yet let it be duly weighed (the premises considered) whether it might not create suspicion and an astonishment in the people of New England, in that he did not punish the Indians who thus charged him, but the English who complained of them for it."

April 1

The nine days' wonder of the prosecution of the Sudbury men was not over, when a matter of far more serious import claimed the public attention.

A young man, named John Winslow, arrived at Boston from the island of Nevis, bringing a copy of the Declaration issued by the Prince of Orange on his landing in England. His story is best told in the words of an affidavit made by him some months after.

April 4.

1690. Feb. 4.

"Being at Nevis," he says, "there came in a ship from some part of England with the Prince of Orange's Declarations, and brought news also of his happy proceedings in England, with his entrance there; which was very welcome news to me, and I knew it would be so to the rest of the people in New England. And I, being bound thither, and being very willing to carry such good news with me, gave four shillings sixpence for the said Declarations, on purpose to let the people in New England understand what a speedy deliverance they might expect from arbitrary power. We arrived at Boston harbor the fourth day of April following; and, as soon as I came home to my house, Sir Edmund Andros, understanding I brought the Prince's Declarations with me, sent the Sheriff to me. So I went along with him to the Governor's house; and, as soon as I came in, he asked me why I did not come and tell him the news. I told him I thought it not my duty, neither was it customary for any passenger to go to the Governor when the master of the ship had been with him before, and told him the news. He asked me where the Declarations I brought with me were. I told him I could not tell, being

1689. Feb.

afraid to let him have them, because he would not let the people know any news. He told me I was a saucy fellow, and bid the Sheriff carry me away to the Justices of the Peace; and, as we were going, I told the Sheriff I would choose my Justice; he told me, No, I must go before Doctor Bullivant, one picked on purpose (as I judged) for the business. Well, I told him, I did not care who I went before, for I knew my cause was good. So soon as I came in, two more of the Justices dropped in, Charles Lidget and Francis Foxcroft, such as the former, fit for the purpose. So they asked me for my papers. I told them I would not let them have them, by reason they kept all the news from the people. So when they saw they could not get what I bought with my money, they sent me to to prison for bringing traitorous and treasonable libels and papers of news, notwithstanding I offered them security to the value of two thousand pounds."

The intelligence which had reached Winslow at Nevis, and was brought thence by him to Boston, could scarcely have embraced transactions in England of a later date than the first month after the landing of the Prince of Orange. Within that time, the result of the expedition was extremely doubtful. There had been no extensive rising against the King, and every day of delay was in his favor. He had a powerful army and fleet; and the history of England taught nothing more clearly than the insecurity of all calculations upon popular discontent, when an occasion arose for

putting English loyalty to the last proof. Should the clergy, after all, be true to their ostentatious assertions of the obligation of unqualified obedience; should the army be faithful; should the King, by artifice or victory, attract to his side the wavering mass of his subjects, and expel the Dutch invader, — then there would be an awful reckoning for all who had taken part against the court. The proceedings after the insurrection under Monmouth had not entirely shown how cruel James could be. His position then had been far less critical than now. Then he enjoyed some degree of popular esteem, and then the preparations against him were not on a formidable scale. Now he was thoroughly frightened. In proportion to his present alarm would be his fury if he should come off victorious. The last chance was pending. If now opposed in vain, he would be henceforward irresistible. Englishmen who should now withstand their King must be sure to conquer him, or must abandon all security for property, liberty, and life. Was it any way prudent for the feeble colony of Massachusetts, divided by parties, and with its administration in the hands of a tool of the tyrant, to throw itself into the contest at this doubtful stage?

It is unavoidable to suppose that these considerations were anxiously weighed by the patriots of Massachusetts after the reception of the momentous intelligence from England. It is natural to believe, that, during the fortnight which followed there were earnest arguments between the more

and the less sanguine portions of the people. It seems probable that the leaders, who had most to fear from rashness if it should be followed by defeat, pleaded for forbearance or at least delay. If any of them took a different part, they took it warily, and so as not to be publicly committed. But the people's blood was up. Though any day now might bring tidings which would assure them whether a movement of theirs would be safe or fatal, their impatience could not be controlled. If the leaders would not lead, some of the followers must take their places. Massachusetts must at all events have her share in the struggle, and her share, if King James should conquer, in the ruin.

CHAPTER XV.

REVOLUTION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

It may be presumed that Andros had observed threatening signs, as, when next heard of, he was within the walls of the work on Fort Hill. Two weeks had passed after Winslow came with his news, when, at an early hour of the day, without any audible note of preparation, Boston was all astir. The day was Thursday, when the weekly lecture of the First Church invited a concourse from the neighboring towns. At the South End of Boston a rumor spread that armed men were collecting at the North End. At the North, it was told that there was a bustle and a rising at the South; and a party having found Captain George of the *Rose* frigate on shore, laid hands on him, and gave him over to a guard. "About nine of the clock the drums beat through the town, and an ensign was set up upon the beacon." Presently, Captain Hill marched his company up King (State) Street, escorting Bradstreet, Danforth, Richards, Cooke, Addington, and others of the old Magistrates, who proceeded together to the council chamber. Meantime, Secretary Randolph, the Justices Bullivant and Fox

1689. April 18.

croft, Sheriff Sherlock, and "many more" of the Governor's party, were apprehended and put in gaol. The gaol-keeper was added to their company, and his function was undertaken by "Scates, the bricklayer."

"About noon," the gentlemen who had been conferring together in the council chamber appeared in the eastern gallery of the Town House, at the head of King Street, and there read to the assembled people what was entitled a "Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the country adjacent." The document contained a short narrative of the oppressions that had been suffered by the colony, beginning with the vacating of the charter. It animadverted briefly on the "illegal" commission to President Dudley and his council, and then proceeded to portray at some length the misgovernment of Andros, as it has been described in these pages. Towards the end, it referred in a few words to "the noble undertaking of the Prince of Orange, to preserve the three kingdoms from the horrible brinks of popery and slavery, and to bring to a condign punishment those worst of men by whom English liberties had been destroyed." One point was delicate; for among the recent Counsellors of the Governor had been considerable men, who, it was hoped, would hereafter act with the people. It is thus disposed of: "All the Council were not engaged in these ill actions; but those of them which were true lovers of their country were sel-

dom admitted to, and seldomer consulted at, the debates which produced these unrighteous things. Care was taken to keep them under disadvantages, and the Governor, with five or six more, did what they would."

The Declaration concludes as follows: —

"We do therefore seize upon the persons of those few ill men which have been (next to our sins) the grand authors of our miseries; resolving to secure them for what justice orders from his Highness, with the English Parliament, shall direct, lest, ere we are aware, we find (what we may fear, being on all sides in danger) ourselves to be by them given away to a foreign power before such orders can reach us, for which orders we now humbly wait. In the mean time, firmly believing that we have endeavored nothing but what mere duty to God and our country calls at our hands, we commit our enterprise unto the blessing of Him who hears the cry of the oppressed; and advise all our neighbors, for whom we have thus ventured ourselves, to join with us in prayers, and all just actions, for the defence of the land."

Andros sent Edward Dudley, the young son of the Chief Justice, with a message to the ministers and to two or three other considerable citizens, inviting them to the fort for a conference, which they declined. Meanwhile the signal on Beacon Hill had done its office, and by two o'clock in the afternoon, in addition to twenty companies already paraded in Boston, several hundred soldiers were

seen on the Charlestown side, ready to cross over. Fifteen principal gentlemen, some of them lately Counsellors, and others Assistants under the old charter, subscribed a summons which was sent to Andros. "We judge it necessary," they wrote, "you forthwith surrender and deliver up the government and fortification, to be preserved and disposed according to order and direction from the crown of England, which suddenly is expected may arrive, promising all security from violence to yourself or any of your gentlemen or soldiers in person or estate. Otherwise we are assured they will endeavor the taking of the fortification by storm, if any opposition be made."

"The frigate, upon the news, put out all her flags and pendants, and opened all her ports, and with all speed made ready for fight, under the command of the lieutenant, he swearing that he would die before she should be taken." He sent a boat to bring off Andros and his attendants; but it had scarcely touched the beach when the crew were encountered and overpowered by the party from the Town House, which, under the command of Mr. John Nelson, was bearing the summons to the Governor. The boat was kept, with the sailors manning it, who were disarmed. Andros and his friends withdrew again within the fort, from which they had come down to go on board the frigate. Nelson disposed his party on two sides of the fort, and, getting possession of some cannon in an outwork, pointed them against the walls. The sol-

diers within were daunted. The Governor asked and obtained a suspension of the attack, till he should send West and another person to confer with the directors of affairs at the Town House. The reply, whatever it was, decided him how to proceed; and he and his party "came forth from the fort, and went disarmed to the Town House, and from thence, some to the close gaol, and the Governor, under a guard, to Mr. Usher's house."

So ended the first day of the insurrection. The Castle and the frigate were still defiant in the harbor. Andros was induced to order a surrender of the Castle by a threat, that, "if he would not give it presently, under his hand and seal, he would be exposed to the rage of the people." A party of colonial militia then "went down, and it was surrendered to them with cursings; and they brought the men away, and made Captain Fairweather commander in it. Now, by the time the men came back from the Castle, all the guns, both in ships and batteries, were brought to bear against the frigate, which were enough to have shattered her in pieces at once, resolving to have her."

April 19.

Captain George, who, as the reader has been told, had long nursed a private quarrel with the arch-disturber, "cast all the blame now upon that devil Randolph; for had it not been for him, he had never troubled this good people; earnestly soliciting that he might not be constrained to surrender the ship, for by so doing both himself and all his

men would lose their wages, which otherwise would be recovered in England, giving leave to go on board, and strike the top-masts, and bring the sails on shore." The arrangement was made, and the necessity for firing on a ship of the royal navy was escaped. The sails were brought on shore, and there put away; and the frigate swung to her anchors off Long Wharf, a harmless and ridiculous hulk. "The country people came armed into the town, in the afternoon, in such rage and heat that it made all tremble to think what would follow; for nothing would satisfy them, but that the Governor should be bound in chains or cords, and put in a more secure place, and that they would see done before they went away; and to satisfy them, he was guarded by them to the fort."

The fort in Boston had been given in charge to Nelson, and there Colonel Lydgett shared the captivity of the Governor, who was transferred thither the day after his arrest. Graham, Palmer, West, and others of his set were placed in Fairweather's custody at the Castle. Randolph was taken care of at the common gaol, by the new keeper, "Scates, the bricklayer." Andros came near effecting his escape. Disguised in woman's clothes, he had safely passed two sentries, but was stopped by a third, who observed his shoes, which he had neglected to change. Dudley was absent on Long Island, on his circuit as Chief Justice. Returning homeward, he heard the great news at Newport. He crossed into the Narragansett

April 26.

April 21.

country, where he hoped to lie concealed at the house of his fellow-Counsellor, Major Smith; but a party got upon his track, and took him to his home at Roxbury. "To secure him against violence," as the order expresses it, a guard was placed about his house. Dudley's host, Smith, was lodged in gaol at Bristol.

April 28.

To secure Dudley against popular violence might well be an occasion of anxious care to those who had formerly been his partners in public trusts. Among the oppressors, he it was whom the people found it hardest to forgive. If Andros, Randolph, West, and others were tyrants and extortioners, at all events they were strangers; they had not been preying on their own kinsmen. But this man was son of a brave old emigrant Governor; he had been bred by the bounty of Harvard College; he had been welcomed at the earliest hour to the offices of the Commonwealth, and promoted in them with a promptness out of proportion to the claims of his years. Confided in, enriched, caressed from youth to middle life by his native colony beyond any other man of his time, he had been pampered into a power, which, as soon as the opportunity was presented, he used for the grievous humiliation and distress of his generous friends. That he had not brought them to utter ruin seemed to have been owing to no want of resolute purpose on his part to advance himself as the congenial instrument of a despot.

A revolution had been consummated, and the

government of the King of England in Massachusetts was dissolved. The day after Andros was led to prison, the persons who had been put forward in the movement assembled again to deliberate on the state of affairs. The result was, that several of them, with twenty-two others whom they now associated, formed themselves into a provisional government, which took the name of a "Council for the Safety of the People, and Conservation of the Peace." They elected Bradstreet, now eighty-seven years of age, to be their President, and Wait Winthrop to command the militia. Among the orders passed on the first day of this new administration was one addressed to Colonel Tyng, Major Savage, and Captains Davis and Willard, serving in the eastern country, to send certain officers to Boston, and dismiss a portion of their force. There was probably a threefold purpose in this order, — to get possession of the persons of some distrusted officers; to gratify a prevailing opinion that the exposures of the campaign had been needless, as well as cruel; and to obtain a reinforcement of skilled troops at the centre of affairs. April 20.

The Council felt the weakness of their position. They held their place neither by deputation from the sovereign, nor by election of the people. They hesitated to set up the charter again, for it had been formally condemned in the King's courts, and there was a large party about them who bore it no good-will; nor was it to be expected that their

President, the timid Bradstreet, whatever were his own wishes, could be brought to consent to so bold a measure. Naturally and not improperly desirous to escape from such a responsibility, they decided

May 2. to summon a convention, to consist of two delegates from each town in the jurisdiction, except Boston, which was to send four.

On the appointed day, sixty-six delegates came

May 9 together. They brought from their homes, or speedily reached, the conclusion that of right the old charter was still in force; and they addressed a communication to that effect to the Magistrates who had been elected just before Dudley took the government, desiring those Magistrates to resume their functions, and to constitute, with the delegates just now sent from the towns, the General Court of the colony, according to ancient law and practice. Their request was denied. Either the wisdom or the fears of the Magistrates held them back from so bold a venture. The dele-

May 10. gates then desired the Council to continue to act as a Committee of Public Safety, till another convention might assemble of delegates bringing express instructions from their towns.

Fifty-four towns were represented in the new

May 22. convention. All but fourteen of them had instructed their delegates to insist on the resumption of the charter. In the Council, the majority was opposed to that scheme. After a debate of two days, the popular policy prevailed, and the Governor and Magistrates chosen at the

last election under the charter consented to assume the trusts then committed to them, and, in concert with Deputies to be newly elected, to form a General Court, and administer the colony for the present, according to the ancient forms. They desired that the other gentlemen lately associated with them in the Council should continue to hold that relation. But this the delegates disapproved; and accordingly those gentlemen, among whom were Wait Winthrop, the newly-appointed commander-in-chief, and Stoughton, whom the people could not yet forgive, relinquished their part in the conduct of affairs. They did so with prudence and magnanimity, engaging to exert themselves to allay the dissatisfaction of their friends, and only avowing their expectation that the state prisoners would be well treated, and that there should be no encouragement to popular manifestations of hostility to England. Bradstreet and Addington were reëlected to the offices which had been recently assigned to them in the temporary government.

May 24.

May 25.

Scarcely had this arrangement been made, when it became known, that, if dangers still existed, at least the chief danger was over. A ship arrived from England, with an order to the authorities on the spot to proclaim King William and Queen Mary. Never, since the Mayflower groped her way into Plymouth harbor, had a message from the parent country been received in New England with such joy. Never had such a pageant

May 26.

as. three days after, expressed the prevailing happiness, been seen in Massachusetts. From
May 29. far and near the people flocked into Boston · the government, attended by the principal gentlemen of the capital and the towns adjacent, passed in procession on horseback through the thoroughfares; the regiment of the town, and companies and troops of horse and foot from the country, lent their pomp to the show; there was a great dinner at the Town House for the better sort; wine was served out in the streets; and the evening was made noisy with acclamations, till the bell rang at nine o'clock, and families met to thank God at the domestic altar for causing the great sorrow to pass away, and giving a Protestant King and Queen to England.

Three days after the ship which brought to Boston the royal message, came another, in which Sir William Phipps was a passenger. From him there was much for his friends in New England to learn. Phipps, a native of Pemaquid, had, when a young man, come to Boston, and set up a ship-yard, and had there been one of Increase Mather's hearers. The old acquaintance had now recently been renewed in London, where Phipps, in consequence of a lucky adventure of his in the West Indies, in recovering a sunken Spanish galleon, full of coin, had established a substantial consideration and influence in high quarters; and, happily for Massachusetts, the friends had united their efforts for her advantage.

It was unavoidable that the provisional arrangements which immediately followed the entrance of the Prince into London should be summary and hasty. It was natural that the general tenor of them should be, to authorize a continuance of the existing state of things till there should be time to make changes with deliberation. Among these arrangements one was an order for the government of New England to continue for the present in the hands of Sir Edmund Andros. This order became known to Mather, who, by prompt and energetic intervention, succeeded in arresting its transmission to New England. Jan. 12.

Not to lose the opportunity of the King's so favorable disposition before his thoughts should be demanded for other subjects, Phipps and Mather, immediately after his accession to the regal power, presented to him a joint petition, in which they prayed that not only Massachusetts, but also Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, might "be restored to their ancient privileges," and that accordingly Bradstreet, Hinckley, Clarke, and Treat might be recognized as Governors of those colonies respectively. This was moving too fast. The young Somers, and the other counsellors of the new monarch, were cautious men. The King could be brought to promise no more than that "Sir Edmund Andros should be removed from the government of New England, and be called unto an account for his maladministration," and "that the present King and Feb. 18. March 14.

Queen should be proclaimed by their former Magistrates."

A week after the proclamation thus authorized was made, with all forms of ceremony, a General Court assembled at Boston, including a House of Deputies constituted by a new election. The joyous excitement that had attended the recognition of the new sovereigns had not had time to subside, when the explanations brought by Phipps were found to present matter for serious thought. But the prospect was fair; at all events, the temper of the towns was resolute. Almost the first step taken by the Deputies was to call upon the Council to assume and exercise for the present all the functions conferred by the charter on Magistrates of the Company. Without this arrangement the Deputies declared that "they could not proceed to act in anything of public concerns;" and the Council accordingly agreed to it. The Council proposed that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against the late Governor and his friends now in prison, or else that they should be set at liberty, giving security for their appearance whenever called for; and Sir Edmund sent in a demand for the release of his friends and of himself. The Deputies complied so far as to send up charges to the Council against Andros, Dudley, Randolph, Palmer, West, Graham, Farwell, and Sherlock, but at the same time resolved that the persons accused could not be admitted to bail. A fortnight later on account of an indisposition of Dudley, the Coun

June 5.

June 27.

cil, with the consent of some Deputies, allowed him to go from the prison, where he had been lodged, to his house at Roxbury, after giving a bond not to leave it, except on Sundays, and then under a guard. But the same night a party from Boston went out, and brought him back to gaol. The General Court, as we may now call it, having done its work of organization, and transacted other necessary business, adjourned on that day. July 18.

The revolution in Massachusetts determined the proceedings in the other colonies under Andros's sway. In New York they had an unfortunate management and a tragical course, the relation of which does not belong to this history. On learning what had been done in Boston, the people of Plymouth seized the person of their townsman, Nathaniel Clarke, one of Andros's Counsellors and tools, and, recalling Governor Hinckley, set up again the ancient government. When the revolution in Massachusetts became known at Newport, a summons was issued from that place to "the several towns" of Rhode Island, inviting them to send their "principal persons" to Newport "before the day of usual election by charter, ... there to consult of some suitable way in this present juncture." Accordingly, at a meeting held on the day appointed by the charter for annual elections, it was determined "to reassume the government according to the charter," and "that the former Governor, Dep- April 22. April 23. May 1

uty-Governor, and Assistants that were in place . . . . . before the coming over of Sir Edmund Andros, the late Governor, should be established in their respective places for the year ensuing, or further order from England." Walter Clarke was the Governor who had been superseded by Andros. But he had no mind for the hazardous honor which was now thrust upon him, and Rhode Island remained without a Governor.

On the arrival in Connecticut of the news of the deposition of Andros, the plan of resuming the charter of that colony, and reëstablishing the government under it, was immediately canvassed in all the settlements. Agreeably to some general understanding, a number of principal men, most of them delegated by their respective towns, assembled at Hartford to consult together on the expediency of taking that step. They determined to submit three questions, the next day, to the decision of the freemen, who had come together in large numbers. The questions were: — 1. "Whether they would that those in place and power when Sir Edmund Andros took the government should resume their place and power as they were then; or, 2. Whether they would continue the present government; or, 3. Whether they would choose a Committee of Safety."

May 8.

The adoption of any one of these proposals disposed of the others. The first of them was first submitted to a vote, and prevailed. A General Court after the ancient pattern was con

May 9.

stituted accordingly. The persons just deputed from the towns made the lower house. Governor Treat and Deputy-Governor Bishop resumed their functions, with ten Magistrates elected with them two years before, and two others now chosen by the freemen to fill the places of Magistrates who had died meanwhile.

The first measure of the Court was to order "that all the laws of this colony formerly made according to charter, and courts constituted in this colony for administration of justice, as they were before the late interruption, should be of full force and virtue for the future, and till the Court should see cause to make further and other alteration and provision according to charter." The second vote was to confirm "all the present military officers." Justices of the Peace were appointed for the towns where no Magistrates resided. The armament of the fort at Saybrook was provided for. The Governor was charged to convene the General Court "in case any occasion should come on in reference to the charter or government." A day of fasting was proclaimed. And then the Court adjourned.

It was soon convened again, in consequence of the intelligence of the accession of William and Mary to the throne. The King and Queen were proclaimed with all solemnity. A day was appointed for thanksgiving. And an Address of congratulation was prepared, in which the Court

June 13.

also briefly rehearsed the recent proceedings in the colony, and prayed for "ratifications and confirmations of the charter."

Again Englishmen were free and self-governed in the settlements of New England.

APPENDIX.

MAGISTRATES OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES BEFORE THE FIRST REVOLUTION.

PLYMOUTH.

In this Colony there was no Deputy-Governor until 1680. At first there was only one Assistant, the office being filled (for precisely how many years is not known) by Isaac Allerton. In 1624, the number of Assistants was increased to five, and in 1633 to seven; and at this latter time the record of the names of Assistants begins. Till 1637, the elections took place in January, and afterwards in March.

Governors.

1620, 1621. John Carver.
1621–1632. William Bradford.
1633. Edward Winslow.
1634. Thomas Prince.
1635. William Bradford.
1636. Edward Winslow.
1637. William Bradford.
1638. Thomas Prince.
1639–1643. William Bradford.
1644. Edward Winslow.
1645–1656. William Bradford.
1657–1672. Thomas Prince.
1673–1680. Josiah Winslow.
1681–1686. Thomas Hinckley.

Deputy-Governors.

1680. Thomas Hinckley.
1681. James Cudworth.
1682–1686. William Bradford

Assistants.

William Bradford, 1633, 1634, 1636, 1638, 1644.
Miles Standish, 1633–1635, 1637–1641, 1645–1656.
John Howland, 1633–1635.
John Alden, 1633–1639, 1651–1667.
John Doane, 1633.
Stephen Hopkins, 1633–1636.
William Gilson, 1633.
Edward Winslow, 1634, 1635, 1637, 1638, 1641–1643.
Isaac Allerton, 1634.
William Collier, 1635–1637, 1639–1651, 1654–1665.
Thomas Prince, 1635–1637, 1639–1656.
Timothy Hatherly, 1636, 1637, 1639–1657.
John Brown, 1636, 1638–1645, 1647–1655.
John Jenny, 1637–1640.
John Atwood, 1638.

Edmund Freeman, 1640–1646.
William Thomas, 1642–1644, 1647–1650.
Thomas Willet, 1651–1664.
Thomas Southworth, 1652, 1653, 1657–1669.
James Cudworth, 1656, 1657, 1674–1680.
Josiah Winslow, 1657–1672.
Thomas Hinckley, 1658–1679.
Jas. Brown, 1665, 1666, 1673–1683.
John Freeman, 1666–1686.
Nathaniel Bacon, 1667–1673.
Constant Southworth, 1670–1678.
Daniel Smith, 1679–1686.
Barnabas Lothrop, 1681–1686.
John Thacher, 1682–1686.
John Walley, 1684–1686.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In this Colony the annual elections took place in May.

Governors.

1630–1633. John Winthrop.
1634. Thomas Dudley.
1635. John Haynes.
1636. Henry Vane.
1637–1639. John Winthrop.
1640. Thomas Dudley.
1641. Richard Bellingham.
1642, 1643. John Winthrop.
1644. John Endicott.
1645. Thomas Dudley.
1646–1648. John Winthrop.
1649. John Endicott.
1650. Thomas Dudley.
1651–1653. John Endicott.
1654. Richard Bellingham.
1655–1664. John Endicott.
1665–1672. Richard Bellingham.
1673–1678. John Leverett.
1679–1686. Simon Bradstreet.

Deputy-Governors.

1630–1633. Thomas Dudley.
1634. Roger Ludlow.
1635. Richard Bellingham.
1636. John Winthrop.
1637–1639. Thomas Dudley.
1640. Richard Bellingham.
1641–1643. John Endicott.
1644, 1645. John Winthrop.
1646–1649. Thomas Dudley.
1650. John Endicott.
1651, 1652. Thomas Dudley.
1653. Richard Bellingham.
1654. John Endicott.
1655–1664. Richard Bellingham.
1665–1670. Francis Willoughby.
1671, 1672. John Leverett.
1673–1678. Samuel Symonds.
1679–1686. Thomas Danforth.

Assistants.

Simon Bradstreet, 1630–1678.
William Coddington, 1630–1636.
John Endicott, 1630–1634, 1637, 1639, 1640, 1645–1648.
Isaac Johnson, 1630.
Roger Ludlow, 1630–1633
Increase Nowell, 1630–1655.
William Pynchon, 1630–1636, 1643–1650.
Edward Rossiter, 1630.
Richard Saltonstall, 1630, 1631 1633.

Thomas Sharpe, 1630.
William Vassall, 1630.
John Humphrey, 1632–1641.
John Winthrop, Jr., 1632–1641, 1643–1649.
John Haynes, 1634, 1636.
John Winthrop, 1634, 1635, 1640, 1641.
Atherton Hough, 1635.
Richard Dummer, 1635, 1636.
Thomas Dudley, 1635, 1636, 1641–1644.
Richard Bellingham, 1636–1639, 1642–1652.
Roger Harlakenden, 1636–1638.
Israel Stoughton, 1637–1643.
Richard Saltonstall, Jr., 1637–1649, 1664, 1681, 1682.
Thomas Flint, 1642–1653.
Samuel Symonds, 1643–1648, 1650–1672.
William Hibbens, 1643–1654.
Herbert Pelham, 1645–1649.
Robert Bridges, 1647–1656.
Francis Willoughby, 1650, 1651, 1664.
Thomas Wiggin, 1650–1654.
Edward Gibbons, 1650, 1651.
John Glover, 1652, 1653.
Daniel Gookin, 1652–1675, 1677–1686.
Daniel Denison, 1653–1682.
Simon Willard, 1654–1675.
Humphrey Atherton, 1654–1661.
Richard Russell, 1659–1676.
Thomas Danforth, 1659–1678.
William Hathorne, 1662–1679.
Eleazer Lusher, 1662–1672.
John Leverett, 1665–1670.
John Pynchon, 1665–1686.
Edward Tyng, 1668–1680.
William Stoughton, 1671–1688.
Thomas Clarke, 1673–1677.
Joseph Dudley, 1676–1683, 1685.
Peter Bulkeley, 1677–1684.
Nathaniel Saltonstall, 1679–1686.
Humphrey Davy, 1679–1686.
James Russell, 1680–1686.
Samuel Nowell, 1680–1686.
Peter Tilton, 1680–1686.
John Richards, 1680–1686.
John Hull, 1680–1683.
Bartholomew Gedney, 1680–1683.
Thomas Savage, 1680, 1681.
William Brown, 1680–1683.
Samuel Appleton, 1682–1686.
Robert Pike, 1682–1686.
Daniel Fisher, 1683.
John Woodbridge, 1683.
Elisha Cooke, 1684–1686.
William Johnson, 1684–1686.
John Hathorne, 1684–1686.
Elisha Hutchinson, 1684–1686.
Samuel Sewall, 1684–1686.
Isaac Addington, 1686.
John Smith, 1686.

CONNECTICUT.

In this Colony the elections took place in April.

Governors.

1639. John Haynes.
1640. Edward Hopkins.
1641. John Haynes.
1642. George Wyllys
1643. John Haynes.
1644. Edward Hopkins.
1645. John Haynes.
1646. Edward Hopkins.
1647. John Haynes.
1648. Edward Hopkins.

1649. John Haynes.
1650. Edward Hopkins.
1651. John Haynes.
1652. Edward Hopkins.
1653. John Haynes.
1654. Edward Hopkins.
1655. Thomas Welles.
1656. John Webster.
1657. John Winthrop.
1658. Thomas Welles.
1659–1675. John Winthrop.
1676–1682. William Leete.
1683–1687. Robert Treat.

DEPUTY-GOVERNORS.

1639. Roger Ludlow.
1640 John Haynes.
1641 George Wyllys.
1642. Roger Ludlow.
1643. Edward Hopkins.
1644. John Haynes.
1645. Edward Hopkins.
1646. John Haynes.
1647. Edward Hopkins.
1648. Roger Ludlow.
1649. Edward Hopkins.
1650. John Haynes.
1651. Edward Hopkins.
1652. John Haynes.
1653. Edward Hopkins.
1654. Thomas Welles.
1655. John Webster.
1656, 1657. Thomas Welles.
1658. John Winthrop.
1659. Thomas Welles.
1660–1668. John Mason.
1669–1675. William Leete.
1676–1682. Robert Treat.
1683–1687. James Bishop.

MAGISTRATES.

[Called *Assistants* after the Charter.]

Edward Hopkins, 1639, 1641, 1642, 1655, 1656.
William Phelps, 1639–1642.
George Wyllys, 1639, 1640, 1643, 1644.
Thomas Welles, 1639–1653, 1668.
John Webster, 1639–1654, 1657–1659.
Roger Ludlow, 1640, 1641, 1643–1647, 1649–1653.
William Hopkins, 1641, 1642.
William Whiting, 1641–1647.
John Haynes, 1642. 1648.
John Mason, 1642–1659, 1669–1671.
Henry Wolcott, 1643–1655, 1662–1680.
William Swayne, 1643, 1644.
George Fenwick, 1644, 1645, 1647, 1648.
John Cosmore, 1647–1650, 1651 1657, 1658.
Edward Howell, 1647–1653.
John Cullick, 1648–1657.
Henry Clarke, 1650–1661.
John Winthrop, 1651–1656.
Thomas Tapping, 1651–1656, 1659–1661, 1663, 1664, 1674–1684.
Samuel Willis, 1654–1684.
John Tallcott, 1654–1687.
John Ogden, 1656–1660.
Nathan Gold, 1657, 1659–1687
Matthew Allyn, 1658–1667.
George Phelps, 1658–1662.
John Wells, 1658, 1659.
Richard Treat, 1658–1664
Thomas Baker, 1658–1663.
John Mulford, 1658.
Alexander Knowles, 1658.

Daniel Clark, 1659, 1660, 1662–1667.
Robert Bond, 1659–1661.
Thurston Rayner, 1661, 1663.
John Allyn, 1662–1687.
Samuel Sherman, 1663–1667.
John Howell, 1663, 1664.
John Young, 1664.
James Richards, 1665, 1667, 1669–1680.
William Leete, 1665–1668.
William Jones, 1665–1687.
Benjamin Fenn, 1665, 1666, 1668–1672.
Jasper Crane, 1665–1667.
Richard Law, 1666, 1667.
Robert Treat, 1666, 1673–1675.
Benjamin Newberry, 1666, 1667 1685–1687.
Anthony Howkins, 1666–1673.
Alexander Bryant, 1667–1678.
James Bishop, 1667–1682.
John Davenport, 1667.
Thomas Fairchild, 1667.
Giles Hamlin, 1667, 1685–1687.
John Nash, 1672–1687.
John Mason, 1676.
Matthew Gilbert, 1677.
Andrew Leete, 1678–1687.
John Wadsworth, 1679–1687.
Robert Chapman, 1681–1684.
James Fitch, 1681–1687.
Samuel Mason, 1683–1687.
Samuel Talcott, 1685–1687.

NEW HAVEN.

In this Colony the elections took place in October.

Governors.

1643–1657. Theophilus Eaton.
1658–1660. Francis Newman.
1661–1667. William Leete.

Deputy-Governors.

1643–1657. Stephen Goodyeare.
1658–1660. William Leete.
1661–1663. Matthew Gilbert.
1664–1667. William Jones.

Magistrates.

Thomas Gregson, 1643.
William Fowler, 1643.
Edmund Tapp, 1643.
Thurston Rayner, 1643.

[From a deficiency in the records of New Haven, no list of Magistrates for the years 1644–1652 can be made out. In 1646, Thomas Gregson, Richard Malbon, William Fowler, John Astwood, Samuel Desbrough, and Andrew Ward were elected. (N. H. Rec. I. 275.) Thurston Rayner was a Magistrate in 1644 (*Ibid.* 135); Richard Malbon in 1645 (*Ibid.* 257); and John Astwood and Samuel Desbrough in 1649 (*Ibid.* 467). Beginning with 1653, the series was as follows: —]

Francis Newman, 1653–1658.
William Fowler, 1653, 1654.
John Astwood, 1653–1655.
William Leete, 1653–1658.
Samuel Eaton, 1654, 1655.
Benjamin Fenn, 1654–1659, 1661–1667.
Matthew Gilbert, 1658–1661, 1664.

Jasper Crane, 1658–1667.
Robert Treat, 1659–1663.
William Jones, 1662, 1663.
William Gibbard, 1662.

[Robert Treat was reëlected in 1664, but did not take the oath of office nor did John Wakeman, nor John Nash, elected respectively in 1661 and 1664; nor William Gibbard, on his first election, in 1661.]

PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

Presidents.

1647. John Coggeshall.
1648. William Coddington.
1649. John Smith.
1650, 1651. Nicholas Easton.
1652. John Smith.
1653. John Sanford.
1654. Nicholas Easton.
1655, 1656. Roger Williams.
1657–1659. Benedict Arnold.
1660, 1661. William Brenton.
1662, 1663. Benedict Arnold.

Assistants.

Roger Williams, 1647, 1648.
John Sanford, 1647, 1649.
William Coddington, 1647.
Randall Holden, 1647, 1653–1655, 1657, 1659.
Jeremy Clarke, 1648.
William Baulston, 1648, 1656–1663.
John Smith, 1648.
Thomas Olney, 1649, 1653–1656.
John Clarke, 1649, 1650, 1658.
Samuel Gorton, 1649.
William Field, 1650, 1658–1663.
John Porter, 1650.
John Wicks, 1650, 1656.
Nicholas Easton, 1653.
Richard Burden, 1653, 1654.
Edward Smith, 1654.
John Roome, 1655.
Benedict Arnold, 1655, 1660, 1661.
John Coggeshall, 1656.
Richard Tew, 1657, 1662, 1663.
Arthur Fenner, 1657.
Joseph Clarke, 1658, 1659.
John Greene, 1660–1663.

RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

Governors.

1664, 1665. Benedict Arnold.
1666–1668. William Brenton.
1669–1671. Benedict Arnold.
1672, 1673. Nicholas Easton.
1674, 1675. William Coddington.
676. Walter Clarke.
1677, 1678. Benedict Arnold.
1679. John Cranston.
1680–1682. Peleg Sanford.
1683–1685. William Coddington
1686. Walter Clarke.

Deputy-Governors.

1664, 1665. William Brenton.
1666–1668. Nicholas Easton.
1669. John Clarke.
1670. Nicholas Easton.
1671. John Clarke.
1672. John Cranston.
1673. William Coddington.
1674, 1675. John Easton.
1676–1678. John Cranston.
1679–1685. Walter Clarke.
1686. John Coggeshall.

ASSISTANTS.

John Coggeshall, 1664, 1670, 1671, 1674, 1676, 1683–1686.
James Barker, 1664, 1665, 1671, 1676.
Joseph Clarke, 1664, 1677–1679.
William Field, 1664.
Thomas Olney, 1664, 1666, 1668, 1670, 1677, 1678.
Roger Williams, 1664, 1670.
William Baulston, 1664–1672.
John Sanford, 1664, 1679.
Randall Holden, 1664, 1665, 1676.
Walter Todd, 1664, 1673.
John Card, 1665.
Edward Smith, 1665.
William Carpenter, 1665–1671.
Arthur Fenner, 1665, 1667, 1672, 1674–1676, 1679–1686.
John Brown, 1665.
Samuel Wilbore, 1665–1668, 1677.
John Greene, 1665, 1667–1672, 1677, 1680–1684, 1686.
William Coddington, 1666.
Richard Tew, 1666.
John Easton, 1666–1670, 1672, 1673, 1676, 1681–1686.
William Harris, 1666–1669, 1673, 1674, 1676.
Richard Carder, 1666.
Benjamin Smith, 1666–1669, 1671, 1672, 1675.
Peleg Sanford, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1677, 1678.
William Reape, 1667.
John Cranston, 1668–1671.
Thomas Harris, 1668, 1671–1675.
Joshua Coggeshall, 1669, 1672–1676.
John Tripp, 1670, 1673–1675.
James Greene, 1670.
John Albro, 1671, 1677–1681, 1683–1685.
Richard Smith, 1672.
Francis Brinley, 1672.
Henry Browne, 1672.
Walter Clarke, 1673–1675.
Daniel Gould, 1673, 1674.
Thomas Field, 1673.
Job Almy, 1673.
Samuel Stafford, 1674, 1686.
Henry Bull, 1675.
Edward Thurston, 1675, 1686.
Thomas Borden, 1675.
Benjamin Barton, 1675, 1683, 1685
William Cadman, 1676, 1682.
Samuel Gorton, 1676–1682, 1685.
John Whipple, 1677–1679.
Stephen Arnold, 1677–1680.
Thomas Greene, 1678, 1679, 1684.
Caleb Car, 1679–1685.
Thomas Ward, 1679, 1680.
William Coddington, 1680–1682.
Joseph Jenks, 1680–1686.
George Lawton, 1680–1686.
Richard Arnold, 1681–1686.
Walter Newberry, 1686.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

PRESIDENTS.

1679, 1680. John Cutts.
1681. Richard Waldron.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1680. Richard Waldron.
1681. Elias Stileman.

GOVERNORS.

1682–1685. Edward Cranfield.
1686. Walter Barefoote.

DEPUTY-GOVERNOR.

1683–1686. Walter Barefoote.

COUNSELLORS.

Richard Martyn, 1679–1682.
William Vaughan, 1679–1686.
Thomas Daniel, 1679–1683.
John Gilman, 1679–1682.
Christopher Hussey, 1679–1686.
Richard Waldron, 1679, 1680, 1682.
Elias Stileman, 1680–1682.
Samuel Dalton, 1680.
Job Clements, 1680–1683.
Robert Mason, 1680–1686.
Richard Waldron, Jr., 1681–1686.
Anthony Nutter, 1681–1686.
Walter Barefoote, 1682.
Richard Chamberlain, 1682–1686.
Nathaniel Fryer, 1683–1686.
Robert Elliot, 1683–1686.
John Hinckes, 1683–1686.
James Sherlock, 1683–1686.
Francis Champernoon, 1683–1686.
Edward Randolph, 1683–1686.

COMMISSIONERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

The letter P., after a name, denotes the presiding officer of the body for the year. It was the custom, though not observed without exceptions, to choose for President one of the Commissioners of the Colony in which the meeting was held.

PLYMOUTH.	MASSACHUSETTS.	CONNECTICUT.	NEW HAVEN.
	1643.		
Edward Winslow.	John Winthrop, P.	George Fenwick.	Theophilus Eaton
William Collier.	Thomas Dudley.	Edward Hopkins.	Thomas Gregson.
	1644.		
Edward Winslow.	Simon Bradstreet.	Edw. Hopkins, P	Theophilus Eaton.
John Brown.	William Hathorne.	George Fenwick.	Thomas Gregson.
	1645.		
Thomas Prince.	John Winthrop, P.	George Fenwick.	Theophilus Eaton.
John Brown.	Herbert Pelham.	Edward Hopkins.	Steph'n Goodyeare
	1646.		
John Brown.	John Endicott.	Edward Hopkins	Theoph. Eaton, P
Timothy Hatherly.	Herbert Pelham.	John Haynes.	Steph'n Goodyeare
	1647.		
William Bradford.	Thomas Dudley, P.	Edward Hopkins.	Theophilus Eaton
John Brown.	John Endicott.	John Mason.	Steph'n Goodyeare
	1648.		
Wm. Bradford, P.	John Endicott.	Edward Hopkins.	Theophilus Eaton.
John Brown.	Simon Bradstreet.	Roger Ludlow.	John Astwood.
	1649.		
William Bradford.	Thomas Dudley, P.	Edward Hopkins.	Theophilus Eaton
John Brown	Simon Bradstreet.	Thomas Welles.	John Astwood.

Plymouth.	Massachusetts.	Connecticut.	New Haven.
	1650.		
Thomas Prince	Simon Bradstreet.	Edw. Hopkins, P.	Theophilus Eaton.
John Brown.	William Hathorne.	John Haynes.	Steph'n Goodyeare
	1651.		
John Brown.	Simon Bradstreet.	Edward Hopkins.	Theoph. Eaton, P.
Timothy Hatherly.	William Hathorne.	Roger Ludlow.	Steph'n Goodyeare.
	1652.		
William Bradford.	Simon Bradstreet.	Roger Ludlow.	John Astwood
John Brown.	William Hathorne.	John Cullick.	
	1653.		
Thomas Prince	Sim. Bradstreet, P.	Roger Ludlow.	Theophilus Eaton.
John Brown.	William Hathorne.	John Cullick.	John Astwood
	1654.		
Thomas Prince.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Mason.	Theoph. Eaton, P
John Brown.	Daniel Denison.	John Webster.	Francis Newman.
	1655.		
John Brown.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Mason	Theoph. Eaton, P
James Cudworth.	Daniel Denison.	John Cullick.	William Leete.
	1656.		
Wm. Bradford, P.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Mason.	Theophilus Eaton.
Thomas Prince.	Daniel Denison.	John Tallcott.	William Leete.
	1657.		
Thomas Prince.	Sim. Bradstreet, P.	John Mason.	Theophilus Eaton.
James Cudworth.	Daniel Denison.	John Tallcott.	William Leete.
	1658.		
Thomas Prince	John Endicott, P.	John Winthrop.	Francis Newman.
Josiah Winslow.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Tallcott.	William Leete.
	1659.		
Josiah Winslow.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Winthrop, P	Francis Newman
Thos. Southworth.	Daniel Denison.	Thomas Welles.	William Leete.
	1660.		
Josiah Winslow.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Winthrop.	Fras. Newman, P
Thos. Southworth.	Daniel Denison.	Matthew Allyn	William Leete.
	1661.		
Thomas Prince, P.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Mason	William Leete.
Thos. Southworth.	Daniel Denison.	Samuel Willis	Benjamin Fenn
	1662.		
Thomas Prince	Daniel Denison, P.	Samuel Willis	William Leete.
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth.	John Tallcott	Benjamin Fenn.
	1663.		
Thomas Prince.	Sim. Bradstreet, P.	John Winthrop	William Leete.
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth.	John Tallcott.	Benjamin Fenn.

Plymouth.	Massachusetts.	Connecticut.	New Haven.
	1664.		
Josiah Winslow.	Sim. Bradstreet, P.	Matthew Allyn.	William Leete.
Thos. Southworth.	Thomas Danforth.	Samuel Willis.	William Jones.

Plymouth.	Massachusetts.	Connecticut.
	1665.	
Josiah Winslow.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Winthrop.
Thomas Southworth.	Thomas Danforth.	William Leete.
Thomas Prince (Subst.).	Daniel Denison, Wm. Hathorne (Subst.)	Matt. Allyn (Subst.).
	1666.	
Josiah Winslow.	Simon Bradstreet.	John Winthrop.
Thomas Southworth.	Thomas Danforth.	Samuel Willis.
Thomas Prince (Subst.).		
	1667.	
Thos. Southworth.	Thomas Danforth.	William Leete, P.
Thomas Hinckley.	John Leverett.	Samuel Willis.
	1668.	
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth	John Winthrop.
Thos. Southworth.	John Leverett.	William Leete.
Thomas Prince (Subst.).		Samuel Willis (Subst.).
	1669.	
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth.	John Winthrop.
Thos. Southworth.	John Leverett.	John Tallcott.
Thomas Prince (Subst.).	Sim. Bradstreet, Wm. Hathorne (Subst.)	James Richards (Subst.).
	1670.	
Thomas Prince.	Simon Bradstreet.	Samuel Willis.
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth	John Tallcott.
	Wm. Hathorne, John Leverett (Subst.)	James Richards (Subst.).
	1671.	
Thomas Prince.	Simon Bradstreet	Samuel Willis.
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth	John Tallcott.
Thos. Hinckley (Subst.).	Wm. Hathorne, Daniel Denison (Subst.)	James Richards (Subst.
	1672.	
Thomas Prince, P.	Thomas Danforth	William Leete.*
Josiah Winslow.	Simon Bradstreet.	James Richards.
Thos. Hinckley (Subst.).	Wm. Hathorne, John Leverett (Subst.).	John Tallcott (Subst.).

* Conn. Rec. II. 170. But Winthrop, instead of Leete, attended the meeting of the Commissioners this year. (Hazard, II 528; comp. Conn. Rec. II. 182.)

Plymouth.	Massachusetts.	Connecticut.
	1673.	
Thomas Hinckley.	Thomas Danforth.	William Leete, P.
Josiah Winslow.	William Hathorne.	John Tallcott.
Wm. Bradford (Subst.)	Wm. Stoughton, Daniel Denison (Subst.).	John Allyn (Subst.).
	1674.	
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth.	John Allyn.
Thomas Hinckley.	William Stoughton.	James Richards.
Wm. Bradford (Subst.)	Sim. Bradstreet, Daniel Denison (Subst.).	John Tallcott (Subst.)
	1675.	
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth, P.	John Allyn.*
Thomas Hinckley.	William Stoughton.	James Richards.
Wm. Bradford (Subst.	Sim. Bradstreet, Daniel Denison (Subst.).	John Tallcott (Subst.).
	1676.	
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth.	John Tallcott.
Thomas Hinckley.	William Stoughton.	James Richards.
Wm. Bradford (Subst.)		John Allyn (Subst.).
	1677.	
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth.	John Allyn.
Thomas Hinckley.	Joseph Dudley.	James Richards,
Wm. Bradford (Subst.).	Sim. Bradstreet, Wm. Stoughton (Subst.).	John Tallcott (Subst.).
	1678.	
Josiah Winslow.	Thomas Danforth.	William Leete, P
Thomas Hinckley.	Joseph Dudley.	John Allyn.
James Cudworth (Subst.)		
	1679.	
Josiah Winslow, P.	Thomas Danforth.	John Allyn.
Thomas Hinckley.	Joseph Dudley.	James Richards.
James Cudworth (Subst.).	Daniel Denison, Humphrey Davy (Subst.).	
	1680.	
Josiah Winslow.	William Stoughton.	John Allyn.
Thomas Hinckley.	Joseph Dudley.	James Richards.
Wm. Bradford (Subst.).		
	1681.	
Thomas Hinckley.	William Stoughton.	Robert Treat.
James Cudworth.	Joseph Dudley.	John Allyn
Wm. Bradford (Subst.).		

* By a vote of the Council, August 18, 1675, John Winthrop was substituted for Allyn (Conn. Rec. II. 351); and, by a vote of the General Court, of October 14, Wait Winthrop was substituted for Richards (*Ibid.* 271).

Plymouth.	Massachusetts.	Connecticut.
	1682.	
Thomas Hinckley.	William Stoughton.	Robert Treat.
William Bradford.	Peter Bulkeley.	John Allyn.
Daniel Smith (Subst.).	Samuel Nowell, Thos. Danforth (Subst.).	
	1683.	
Thomas Hinckley.	William Stoughton.	John Tallcott.
William Bradford.	Peter Bulkeley.	John Allyn.
Daniel Smith (Subst.).	Samuel Nowell (Subst.).	
	1684.	
Thomas Hinckley	Samuel Nowell.	John Tallcott.
William Bradford.	William Stoughton.	John Allyn.
Daniel Smith, John Walley (Subst.).	Peter Bulkeley, Joseph Dudley (Subst.).	Robert Treat. (Subst.). P
	1685.	
	William Stoughton.	
	Samuel Nowell.	
	1686.	
Thomas Hinckley.	William Stoughton.	John Tallcott.
William Bradford.	Samuel Nowell.	John Allyn.
John Walley (Subst.).		

ROYAL PROVINCE OF NEW ENGLAND.

Governor.

1686 (December)–1689. Edmund Andros.

Counsellors.

The following Counsellors were named in the Commission which took effect in May, 1686, as appears from the Proclamation issued on the 25th of that month, viz: —

Joseph Dudley, 1686 (May)–1689. (President in 1686.)
William Stoughton, 1686–1689. (Deputy-President in 1686.)
Robert Mason, 1686–1688.
Fitz-John Winthrop, 1686–1689.
John Pynchon, 1686–1689.
Peter Bulkeley, 1686–1688.
Edward Randolph, 1686–1689.
Wait Winthrop, 1686–1689.
Richard Wharton, 1686–1689.
John Usher, 1686–1689.
Nathaniel Saltonstall.
Simon Bradstreet.
Dudley Bradstreet.
Bartholemew Gedney, 1686–1689.
Jonathan Tyng, 1686–1689.
John Hinckes, 1686–1689.
Edward Tyng, 1686–1689.
Francis Champernoon.

In Andros's first Commission all the above-named Counsellors were included, except the two Bradstreets, Saltonstall, and Champernoon, who had not accepted the trust; and the following were added. Their names,

with the preceding, are in a list at the beginning of the original minutes of Andros's Council.

Thomas Hinckley, 1686–1689.
Barnabas Lothrop, 1686–1689.
William Bradford, 1686–1689.
Daniel Smith, 1686–1689.
John Walley, 1686–1689.
Nathaniel Clarke, 1686–1689.
John Coggeshall, 1686–1689.
Walter Clarke, 1686–1689.
Walter Newberry, 1686–1689.
John Sanford, 1686–1689.
John Greene, 1686–1689.
Richard Arnold, 1686–1689.
John Albro, 1686–1689.

In the Journal of Andros's Council the above names of Counsellors occur, and also the following, subsequently appointed, viz: —

Francis Nicholson, 1687 (August)–1689.
Robert Treat, 1687 (November)–1689.
John Allyn, 1687 (November)–1689.
Samuel Shrimpton, 1688 (March)–1689.

In Andros's second Instructions (April 16, 1688) all the above names were included, and the following in addition, viz: —

William Browne, 1688, 1689.
Richard Smith, 1688, 1689.
Simon Lynde, 1688, 1689.
Anthony Brockholst, 1688, 1689.
Frederick Phillips, 1688, 1689.
Jervis Baxter, 1688, 1689.
Stephen Courtland, 1688, 1689.
John Young, 1688, 1689.
Nicholas Bayard, 1688, 1689.
John Palmer, 1688, 1689.
John Spragg (Sprague?), 1688, 1689.

A list of Counsellors in the Massachusetts Archives (CXXVI. 77) contains the names of all the Counsellors who served during the first year, and no others. Hutchinson (Hist. I. 317) had not seen any list that he could rely upon. A list, however, which he found on the fly-leaf of a volume of the Colonial Laws, turns out to be nearly correct. It contained all the names of Counsellors mentioned above, except that of Simon Lynde. Hutchinson, however, writes John *Cothill* for John *Coggeshall*, whose name, in the list in the Archives, is spelt *Cotell*.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 09874 475 6